186 a 5

REASONS

For an Augmentation of at leaſt

Twelve Thouſand Mariners,

To be employed in the

MERCHANTS-SERVICE,

AND

COASTING-TRADE;

WITH

SOME THOUGHTS

ON THE MEANS

Of providing for a number of our Seamen, after the preſent War is finiſhed; alſo to ſupport a conſtant additional Marine-Force, in order to the cheaper and more expeditious deciſion of our future Quarrels; and to render Preſſing neceſſary in a leſs degree. Alſo to promote the Benefit of Ship-Owners and Under-Writers; to extend the Navigation of theſe Kingdoms, and to take care of the Poor who incline to a Sea-Life.

Likewiſe, to make Proviſion for the Boys fitted out by the MARINE-SOCIETY, when they ſhall be diſcharged from the King's Ships. With ſome Remarks on the MAGDALEN-HOUSE.

IN THIRTY-THREE LETTERS

To *CHARLES GRAY*, Eſq; of COLCHESTER.

By Mr. Hanway.

LONDON:

Sold by R. and J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall; J. WAUGH, in Lombard-Street; and at the Pamphlet-Shops.

M,DCC,LIX.

G R
III

A LETTER

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE

MASTER, WARDENS and ASSISTANTS,

OF THE

CORPORATION of the TRINITY-HOUSE of Deptford-Strond.

My LORDS and GENTLEMEN,

I Beg leave to preſent you with the reſult of a correſpondency with a very worthy gentleman, the chief part of which is upon as intereſting a ſubject, as perhaps was ever recommended to your peruſal.

When I conſider how *deeply* the welfare of my country is concerned, in the preſervation of her *natural ſtrength*, and, at the ſame time, reflect on the duty of exerciſing my own heart in the offices of humanity, it ſeems but a ſmall ſacrifice to hazard the being thought too ſpeculative. I am *confident* that *ſome parts* of this plan, are *ſubſtantially good*, and *eaſily practicable*, and have therefore ventured boldly on the ſubject, though I know it has been ſo often attempted in vain.

Heaven has been indulgent to us, exceeding our *expectations*, and far beyond our *deſerts*, as if *we* were ſtill appointed to be the happy inſtruments of ſupporting *truth* and *juſtice* in the world.—*But the war is not yet finiſhed*; and as great a nation as this may now appear in the eyes of mankind, we are not ignorant that our enemies are a people as *numerous* as they are *fruitful in reſources*, and equally *enterpriſing* and *unquiet*. Nor is it leſs obvious, that all human affairs are ſubject to great viciſſitudes; and *a few* years *inadvertency*, or *wrong policy*, may plunge a powerful nation into great difficulties. If it is expedient for us to make any proviſion for any number of our ſeamen, who may be diſcharged at the cloſe of the war; or towards the increaſe of *mariners*, in time of peace, more than has been hitherto done; this ſeems to be the proper time to conſider of it. Men *in high offices* have buſineſs enough on *their* hands; but the mercantile and trading part of the nation, on whom this affair ſo much depends, may find leiſure to examine it.

As to the ſeveral miſtakes, which I may have committed, in my calculations, your extenſive knowledge, joined to the con-

convenience of ſearching the moſt authentic accounts, will enable you to rectify them. The *queſtion* is, whether theſe *regulations* will *probably* anſwer the end more effectually, than any others that have been yet propoſed; and if ſo, whether we ſhould yet wait for *better*, at the hazard of loſing the object entirely. In paſſing this judgment, the circumſtances of our *national debt*, the *genius* of our fellow-ſubjects, particularly *ſeamen*, and our *excellent*, though *delicate*, *conſtitution*, muſt be conſidered.

Your Board can trace "*the liberties, franchiſes, and privileges*," firſt granted to it, as far back as the year of our *Saviour Chriſt* 1515. In theſe early days, when the glory of our Navy was in its dawn, our anceſtors wiſely foreſaw the advantage of improving "*the ſcience and art of navigation*," and the high benefits of giving encouragement "*for the increaſe and augmentation of the ſhipping of this realm.*" Theſe are the *words* of your *charter*, and theſe are the *objects* which I deſire permiſſion to lay before you.

Your Board is alſo diſtinguiſhed for its great *candor* as well as *diſcernment*; and your benevolence is no leſs conſpicuous, than your thorough *practice* in naval affairs. *You* muſt be ſenſible of the diſtreſs which is occaſioned by *preſſing*: *you* know what a *ſea-life* is, and how *ſeamen* may be beſt preſerved. To *you* is committed the care of the *lives* and *properties* of HIS MAJESTY'S *ſea-faring* and *mercantile* ſubjects: and *you* are the beſt judges what a number of *merchant-ſhips* are loſt, every year, through *ignorance* or *negligence*, in which I include their being *ill mann'd*. *Laſtly*, *you* muſt have the ſtrongeſt ſenſe, how highly important it is

to

to us, to command a great body of ſeamen, upon ſuch emergencies as will, in the natural courſe of things, too often happen to this nation. If hereafter *your opinion* ſhould be called for, whether in your *corporate* capacity, or as *private* perſons, as it muſt be of great weight, ſo *your aſſiſtance*, in *forming* a proper *regulation*, may be of the greateſt advantage to the *common intereſt*.

For my own part, I ſhall rejoice if a *plan*, in all reſpects *unexceptionable*, can be diſcovered; but, as *ſuch a one* is not to be *expected*, let us not reject the *leaſt imperfect*. I have no doubt but that my *zeal*, and the *integrity* of my *intentions*, will be apparent to you, and I hope to enjoy ſome ſhare in *your eſteem*, which will be an ample reward for *my labor*, as I am, with the moſt ſincere veneration for your *Board*, and the perſons of whom it is compoſed,

My LORDS and GENTLEMEN,

Your moſt humble,

London, Jan. 20. 1759. *and moſt obedient ſervant,*

Jonas Hanway.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

THOUGHTS on life in general. On the Magdalen-House, and the Marine Society.

Page

LETTER I. *Moral reflections on life.* —— —— —— 1
II. *A short account of the Magdalen-House.* —— 4
III. *Reflections on the great utility of the Marine Society.* —— 7

PART II.

Introduction to the plan of providing for seamen. Calculations of the tonnage of merchant-ships, and number of men employed in them, with the necessity of bounties on some branches of our trade, and the propriety of pecuniary fines for the due execution.

LETTER IV. *Introduction to the thoughts upon providing for seamen when discharged from the King's ships, &c.* —— —— 9
V. *The importance of being able to command a great marine force.* 12
VI. *The inefficacy of the several proposals made for the benefit of seamen.* 14
VII. *General calculation of the tonnage and seamen employed in the merchants-service in Great Britain and Ireland.* —— 17
VIII. *Proportion of the number of hands extraordinary proposed to be employed in merchant-ships, under proper conditions.* — — 21

Page

LETTER IX. *The neceſſity and propriety of bounties to owners of ſhips, as an equivalent for the additional number of hands, required in all ſuch trades, where foreigners can interfere with us.* —— 24

X. *The ſituation of ſeveral branches of our trade, in regard to the utility of bounties on navigation.* —— —— 29

XI. *The neceſſity of pecuniary fines, when ſhips do not carry the full number of ſeamen, required by the regulation propoſed.* — 38

XII. *Obſervations on the oaths to be taken in conſequence of this propoſal.* —— —— —— 48

PART III.

Objections anſwered, in regard to ſeamen leaving their ſhips on account of the augmentation propoſed. Complaint of badneſs of trade, of danger to our merchant-ſhips employed abroad, and of ſmall profits on ſhipping, anſwered. With obſervations on the generoſity of merchants.

LETTER XIII. *Objections anſwered, in regard to ſeamen leaving their ſhips abroad.* —— —— —— — 50

XIV. *Profits on ſhipping being ſmall, a ſufficient reaſon for a bounty, but does not invalidate the principle on which this propoſal is founded.* —— —— —— — 53

XV. *Complaints of the badneſs of foreign trade, not always well grounded; and when juſt, can never be a reaſon againſt this propoſal.* —— —— —— — 58

XVI. *Britiſh merchant-ſhips employed by foreigners, for foreign account, no reaſon againſt the propoſal.* —— — 61

XVII. *The generoſity of the mercantile part of this nation.* —— 65

PART

PART IV.

Page

The danger occaſioned by a want of ſeamen. The effects of preſſing. The efforts of the French to raiſe a marine. Several political reaſons for an augmentation of our number of ſeamen in time of peace. The ſingular advantages of well manning our merchant-ſhips, and the happy ſituation of this iſland for that purpoſe.

LETTER XVIII. *The great diſadvantage of being always in diſtreſs for want of ſeamen.* —— —— —— 67

XIX. *The great injury to under-writers ariſing from the ill manning our merchant-ſhips, and the various political advantages of augmenting the number of ſeamen.* —— —— 70

XX. *The efforts of the French to raiſe a marine, and of other nations to encreaſe their trade. The neceſſity ariſing from thence for us to entertain a greater number of ſeamen.* —— 74

XXI. *The bad effects of the neceſſary cuſtom of preſſing.* —— 78

XXII. *Several political reaſons for an augmentation of the number of our ſeamen in time of peace.* —— —— 81

XXIII. *The peculiar happineſs of our ſituation for breeding up ſeamen, and the earneſt deſire of the people for the improvement of naval affairs.* —— —— —— 84

XXIV. *A table of calculations of tonnage, and number of men, in the merchants-ſervice, to corroborate the preceding argument; with ſome remarks thereon.* —— —— — 88

PART V.

The great importance of breeding up boys to the ſea. The inefficacy of the preſent laws, and the great benefit of extending the public indulgence to both maſter and apprentice.

Page

LETTER XXV. *The great importance of breeding up boys to the ſea, and the defects of the preſent laws in relation to them.* —— 91

XXVI. *The great advantage of facilitating the means of maſters obtaining an ample ſupply of boys as apprentices.* —— —— 98

XXVII. *Maſters being ſecure of their apprentices; and apprentices being out of their time, and free at the age of nineteen, a great encouragement to both.* —— —— —— 105

XXVIII. *The great advantage of making a proper choice of young perſons to ſend to ſea, and giving them good impreſſions of it, under proper regulations.* —— —— —— 107

PART VI.

The great advantage of diſcharging ſeamen from the King's ſhips, by diſtinguiſhing their quality; with ſome remarks on navigating with one ſixth, inſtead of one third foreigners, in time of peace, alſo on debentured goods.

LETTER XXIX. *The advantage of diſcharging ſeamen who are moſt capable of getting their bread on ſhore, in time of peace; and of retaining thoſe whoſe ſole dependance for a ſupport is on the ſea.* —— 112

XXX. *Whether it is not moſt advantageous to carry only one ſixth, inſtead of one third part foreigners in our merchant-ſhips in time of peace, and immediately after a certain time when the war is ended.* —— —— —— —— 116

XXXI. *The ſeeming impropriety of giving bounties to foreigners on debentured goods.* —— —— —— 117

PART

PART VII.

Page

Propoſal in regard to the manner of diſcharging boys from the King's ſhips, and of providing for them in the merchants-ſervice.

LETTER XXXII. *Propoſal in behalf of boys on board the King's ſhips, and for ſuch diſtributions of them as ſhall tend moſt to their preſervation, and to render them uſeful both by land and ſea, after the concluſion of the war.* —— —— —— 119

XXXIII. *Propoſal for accommodating a certain number of the Marine Society boys, as apprentices in the merchants-ſervice, after they are diſcharged from the King's ſhips.* —— 122

To be corrected.

PAGE 7 *line* 10 *for* good *read* good work
— 16 — 3 *f.* ſold *r.* part ſold
— 19 — 24 *f.* to 340 *r.* to about 400
— 20 — 11 *f.* being *r.* having
— 31 — 21 *f.* 12,480 *r.* 7 or 8000 *l.*
— 45 — 7 *f.* Britiſh man or boy *r.* Britiſh mariner, man or boy
— 73 — 15 *f.* conſequences *r.* effects
— 81 — 21 *dele* reaſonably
— 89 — 12 *f.* only *r.* beſt
— 89 — 13 *f.* the legiſlator's *r.* our legiſlators
— 103 — 11 *f.* be *r.* to be
— 106 — 2 *f.* maſters *r.* he
— 124 — 2 *f.* after *hundred r.* boys
— 127 — 6 *f.* intended *r. intended by the legiſlature.*

PART I.

THOUGHTS ON LIFE IN GENERAL. ON THE MAGDALEN HOUSE, AND THE MARINE SOCIETY.

Moral Reflections on Life.

LETTER I.

IT is, indeed, *Sir*, but a poor conſolation to a man's own breaſt, that he enjoys an ample *fortune*, or a good *underſtanding*, if he has not the gift of applying them to the great ends of life; but I apprehend that a moderate ſhare of either, with ſuch a gift, leads a great way towards happineſs. I *feel* the force of humanity, when I read *your letters*; and though I have lived, from the age of *ſixteen*, in great cities, and in much action, I can eaſily conceive, that your benevolence finds objects enough for entertainment in the country, without your being too deeply emerged in *rural* pleaſures. You are happy in keeping yourſelf free from thoſe *uncivil conteſts*, which too often prevail, even on the banks of *purling ſtreams*. It is thus you have time to meditate on a *life to come*, and to *prepare* your ſpirit for it; whilſt you turn your thoughts to the conſideration of ſome of the weighty affairs of this world. To be *overwhelmed* with *buſineſs*, or *diſtreſſed* with *leiſure*, are both great *evils*, and it is hard to ſay, which is the worſt: you enjoy the *pleaſures* of both, without being ſubſervient to any man's humour, and without being a *ſlave* to your own.

I have been long perſuaded, that it is not the *ſmiles*, nor yet the *frowns* of fortune, which give a man the *command* of himſelf. But the great buſtle which moſt men make about *riches*, ſeems to be more with a view to *power*, than from any other cauſe: at the ſame time, we are apt to think leaſt honorably of the *power* of controling ourſelves, and of directing our conduct to the attainment of that felicity which is to endure *for ever*. If we judge from *experience*, we generally find, that the *blandiſhments* of fortune more eaſily turn a virtuous mind from its purpoſes, than the *terrors* of her frowns can frighten or diſquiet it. Therefore,

if we are *ſteady* in this principle, that the purſuit of *virtue* is the ſupreme object of our *reaſon*, and that it ought to be the ultimate end of our wiſhes, *fortune* can do us but little harm.

If we conſider, the ſhort duration and *uncertainty* of our continuance on earth, we ſhall hardly grow enamoured of living, ſince nothing is more true, than what *Shakeſpear* ſays of it,

" *Life's but a walking ſhadow, —A POOR PLAYER,*
" *That ſtruts and frets his hour upon the STAGE, —*
" *And then is heard no more.*"

How many of the *great* have you and I ſeen, march off the ſtage, whoſe names are now hardly mentioned! Are *all* worldly diſtinctions to be thus loſt? What then is the *true object* of that ambition which is ſo natural to the ſoul? — Let us build up a monument of *pious works*, no matter whether it be viſible to mortal eyes: let us prop it round by *faith* in the religion we profeſs, and ſecure the foundation by a firm and ſteady *hope:* and thus we may one day *mount* up to thoſe realms of joy, where only the *meaſure* of our longings after happineſs can be filled. Let the mind be once habituated to think, that this is the only ſolid ground we can truſt to, *pleaſure* and *pain* will almoſt become indifferent; at leaſt we ſhall learn to eſtimate them only as they adminiſter to this great, this important end, in compariſon of which, all other conſiderations dwindle into *nothing*. We *ſee* this before our eyes, we *feel* it in our hearts, and the experience of every day brings freſh evidence of it.

To wiſh for ſome *glorious* cauſe in which to *die*, ſeems to be the dictates of true gallantry, and yet to *live* with *reſolution*, is as much ſuperior, as an equal and inflexible *habit* of mind, exceeds the vigorous efforts of an *hour*, or the conſtant applauſe of one's own breaſt, the eſteem of thoſe, who know nothing of us.

It is the lot of *man*, "from him that ſitteth on a throne of glory, unto him that is humble in earth and aſhes," to ſuffer ſome degree of *perturbation of mind*, or *pain of body*; but this does not depend ſo much on what we call *fortune*, as on the *turn* of our *thoughts*. *Temperance* with regard to *aliment*, *paſſions*, and *appetites*, and the harmony reſulting from them, adminiſter a great ſhare; but if we examine into the hiſtory of life, we ſhall find, that where there is a natural or acquired *habit* of joy, the mind is not capable of receiving any *deep wound*. *Good ſpirits*, as vulgarly called, are not always attended with a *good heart*, and a *ſtrong head*, but ſuppoſing virtue equal in both caſes, this turn bids faireſt to prevent miſery. By *good ſpirits* is ſometimes meant, a volatile temper, which will ſupport a man of a thoughtleſs turn, even under a great misfortune; but a man of reflection muſt call in *religion* to his aid; and if he is in friendſhip with himſelf, nothing that *fortune* can give, will make him *forget* himſelf, neither will any thing ſhe can take away, leave him *comfortleſs*. Such is the *indulgence* of heaven; and ſuch thy rewards, *O Virtue!* — To quote to you from the *collections* of my early days, "Great men, and judges, and potentates, ſhall be *honoured*, yet there is none of them *greater* than he that *feareth the Lord!*" Do *you* find that men are heartily perſuaded of this? they ſeem *to me* to miſtake their object, and to aſpire at quite another kind of greatneſs. They fix their eyes ſo attentively on the *parade* of life, as hardly to perceive there can be any *ſubſtantial greatneſs*, whatever there may be of *piety*, in the *ſecret awe of Heaven*.

I eſteem myſelf happy, when I can do any good to my country and mankind; and when nothing more remains, I apprehend my very *wiſhes*, will give me acceptance. I hope I ſhall never think virtue a *phantom*, nor whilſt I enjoy any *moderate ſhare of health*, grow tired of living, at leaſt, not whilſt I imitate you. FAREWELL. I am &c.

A ſhort Account of the Magdalen-Houſe.

LETTER II.

YOU expreſs ſome fear leſt I ſhould neglect the conſideration of your favorite object, from my attention to the girls in the *Magdalen-Houſe*. Do you think my *tenderneſs* for women, under theſe, or any other circumſtances, will employ *all* my thoughts? *this* never happened when I was *young*, as much devoted as I am to their ſervice. — I am indeed in hopes that our honored friend, Mr. *Dingley*, and the other gentlemen, who have intereſted themſelves in this truly pious undertaking, will really do ſomething towards the reſtoration of *Halcyon* days, in behalf of theſe young women, amongſt whom I know there are many, who are objects of great *compaſſion*; and it is moſt apparent, that we *can* be of ſervice to our *fellow-creatures* in *every* kind of diſtreſs. To thoſe who can enter deeply into the human heart, here is a great field for entertainment. The reconciliations which will be brought about by this means, is not the leaſt part of it; and it is with great pleaſure I hear that ſuch events have already happened. Reformations have been alſo occaſioned by means of this charity, though the objects have not come within the walls of the houſe; we have alſo ſeen the deepeſt *contrition* of dying penitents.

In the mean while, there is matter of great reflection ariſing from the *humor* of mankind. Thoſe who provide for theſe girls, and treat them with as great tenderneſs and *reſpect* as the nature of the inſtitution will admit, receive them under the ſtile and title of *Penitent Proſtitutes*; and ſome, who appear to be ſpectators only, are offended at the *ſeverity* of the *name*. Is it proper, do you think, to *change* it? If the beſt ſecurity againſt the *ſin* in queſtion is a ſenſe of *ſhame*, the calling it by a falſe name, I fear will not mend the matter, nor promote the *end* and *deſign* of the inſtitution.

I obſerve, from ſome *public remarks*, that the writer had not read the *plan*, or thinks it *no plan*; but I can tell you, that it *anſwers extremely well*. What is urged

urged about putting the deſign under a *public direction*, ſeems to be not at all conſidered: the *advantages* and *diſadvantages* of ſuch a ſtep require very *mature* deliberation, and I think we are yet too young to form any true idea of this matter. Conſidering, that we, and our fathers, have talked of ſuch an undertaking for *centuries* paſt, it is a great point gained to have gone ſo far. The buſineſs as it now ſtands, is very *plain* and ſimple. If a girl whom no creature upon earth will receive, unleſs to give her the wages of *iniquity*, is drawn by a ſenſe of her *ſins*, or her *miſery*, to implore admittance, to learn how to ſue for pardon to her *Maker*, and to get her *bread* honeſtly, if ſhe ſeems to be *ſincere*, and is capable and willing *to work*, here ſhe may be received. You are not to imagine that the *inſtitution* excludes thoſe, who are not in theſe *ſtages of miſery*; we have ſeveral who were, perhaps, moved chiefly by a ſenſe of guilt; but I find affliction is a *door* to *repentance* in moſt caſes.—There can be received at a time, in this houſe, about an *hundred*: the ſame principle will hold for a much greater number.

For my own part, I ſhould rejoice to ſee a ſpacious edifice erected for healing the *wounds* of *ſouls*, and rendering the *wretched uſeful* to the world. This ſeems to be of as much conſequence as the ſetting the broken leg of a poor man, though it is not quite ſo level to vulgar comprehenſion. But if there *is a God*, and we are accountable to him, and he will *reward*, or *puniſh*: if what we call the *Scriptures*, or the divine law, is not a *romantic legend*; and if no other method can reclaim theſe offenders, againſt this law, ſo effectually, there ſhould be, in all civilized ſtates, a retreat, where it might be impoſſible for them to tranſgreſs in *act* or *deed*. It is thus they would be habituated to *think*, and as *Chriſtians*, or *Jews*, they would learn, that there *certainly* is a *kingdom of heaven*, into which no *unrepenting fornicator* will be admitted. This may be done without forſaking the world, or turning people's brain with a *falſe* religion. And for the ſame reaſon that I believe, *moſt heartily*, that thoſe who ſave a ſoul from *periſhing*, will cover *a multitude of their own ſins*, I alſo believe, that if I had a large fortune, I ſhould devote a portion of it to this purpoſe; not when I could enjoy it no longer, but to gratify my eyes and my heart, with the ſight of ſuch a monument erected

to

to *piety*. In the mean while, all the world muſt allow, that this is the *moſt pious* inſtitution exiſting amongſt us: and that although *charity is*, piety is *not* very high amongſt us.

But conſidering this charity in its preſent ſituation, ſo long as the *purity* of the inſtitution is guarded, many of the pious and compaſſionate part of mankind, and thoſe who *ſee things as they are*, will ſubſcribe to the ſupport of it. And if the ſubſcriptions are as conſiderable, as one would naturally expect they ſhould be, I ſee no reaſon, why a number of theſe poor objects may not make their peace with heaven, and return into the world with great advantages to themſelves, and to the public alſo; but this cannot be done without *aſſiſtance*.

You muſt be ſenſible, that the whole of this buſineſs cannot be executed at once; they muſt be qualified for the world before they can, with propriety, come into it again. They are now kept in the beſt diſcipline that can be imagined, by the ſingle conſideration, that if they behave ill, they ſhall be diſmiſſed, which they are conſcious is the greateſt evil that can befall them. It is reaſonable to hope, that after a little time, ſome who have *parents*, or friends will be received by them. Some who deſire to try their fortune abroad, may be well recommended. Some will be well qualified for *ſervice*, and it may be hoped, they will be received into creditable families. In *Portugal*, ladies of the firſt quality pride themſelves in ſuccouring a girl, who having been led aſtray, puts herſelf under their protection: the ſame good motives may become, if not *faſhionable*, by no means *improper*, *with us*. *Some* of theſe girls will learn to work at *trades*, and I am very much miſtaken, if the *piety* and *induſtry* of ſeveral of them will not *deſerve good huſbands*, abſtracted from any conſiderations of *faſhion*.

Have you heard, that a queſtion has ariſen, whether *Mary Magdalen* was a *harlot*? I revere the memory of this lady, as a follower of our Saviour, and as a perſon of great piety and great diſtinction. I believe that ſhe was *not* a harlot becauſe it does not appear to me that ſhe *was* one; but *incontinency* was, I ſuppoſe, at leaſt as common among the *Jews*, when our Saviour was on the earth,

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as it is now amongſt *Chriſtians*. Some learned gentlemen think, that this is the perſon meant by *the woman that was a ſinner*, concluding that ſhe was a *harlot*. They are welcome to the *opinion*; I ſhall not conteſt it with them. We do not honor St. *Paul* the leſs, for having been led aſtray, by his zeal, before his *converſion*; neither have thoſe who think *Mary Magdalen* was a *harlot*, the leſs reſpect to her memory; nor do thoſe who think ſhe was *not a harlot*, conclude that ſhe was irreproachable and *ſinleſs*. Therefore, whatever motives there might be to call this inſtitution, a *Magdalen-Houſe*, it is plainly meant a *houſe for penitents*; and ſo we may ſafely let the matter reſt. No ſenſible perſon, who means to aſſiſt in this good, will give the more or leſs, towards promoting it, on account of the *name*.—So much towards the hiſtory of our penitents: when you return to town, you ſhall hear more of it.——ADIEU. I am, &c.

Reflections on the great utility of the Marine Society.

LETTER III.

THE *Committee* of our *Society*, as you will learn from their ſecretary, has received the boys you ſent them: one of them altered his mind, and was returned to his home. You will approve of our great caution, not even to *perſuade*, where there ſeems to be any particular tenderneſs in a boy's turn of mind, which fits him for the labors of *peace*, rather than the rigors *of war*. Our zealous friends of this Society, go on with their *uſeful*, *pious*, and *great* undertaking. We have now clothed and fitted out above *four thouſand five hundred* men, and *three thouſand* boys. We ranſack the *three kingdoms* for every boy that is not uſeful on ſhore; alſo for ſuch as are ambitious to try their fortune at ſea, their *parents* recommending them for this purpoſe; and above all, for thoſe whoſe *wretchedneſs* makes them ready to accept the *offered bounty*. Of the laſt you may imagine the number is not ſo great as it was, and yet I fear there will be too many of them, ſo long as the effects of the *firſt tranſgreſſion* remains. We have received many from *Edinburgh*, and now we are promiſed *one hundred ſtout lads* by the *Marine Society of Dublin*, the gentlemen who compoſe that ſociety having engaged alſo to clothe them.

You

You have heard, that the *City of London* has lately given 500 *l.* to our Society. This we conſider as a mark of *great honour*, as well as a moſt *ſeaſonable ſupply*: for as high as we *figure* in the eſteem of a great number of people, there are alſo many, who are not yet acquainted with us, or I think we ſhould have received ſome marks of *their good-will*. Thoſe who know that there are many *diſtreſſed* objects from all quarters, to whom raiment is *pleaſure, health, and life*, and wiſh to ſee the *navy* recruited with ſuch perſons as are *leaſt uſeful* on ſhore, and whom this *Society* is *inſtrumental* in calling forth from obſcurity, *will yet give us aid*. I am well perſuaded, that the *gay* and *happy*, who will humble themſelves to viſit our *Committee, over the Royal Exchange, on Thurſdays*, and ſee our boys in their *whole garb of wretchedneſs*, will not let us want for *money*.

We have glorious examples before us of *men in office*. *We* alſo muſt ſhow *a ſpirit* equal to *our enterprize*.—Let us do nothing by *halves*: the pleaſure of ſeeing the war puſhed on with *vigor*, ſhould animate *this buſineſs* alſo; though *very ſmall*, compared with the *general great object* of the nation, it is very *important* in its effects; and, what is more, it is upheld by the *virtue* of *private perſons*.

I know not how it comes to paſs, but many whoſe hearts are warm, and fortunes large, do not yet ſeem to be acquainted, that this affair is conducted by a *Society*, who are quite in earneſt with regard to the *public welfare*; that it is attended in a regular manner by a *committee*: that not a penny of the ſubſcriptions is diverted from the object of them; that no ſingle perſon has any direction independent of the committee; and that it is of more *univerſal utility*, with regard to the *preſent occaſion of war*, than all the other noble *private* charities with which this nation abounds. If *all* this were known, and we may pronounce it to be *abſolutely true*, I think we ſhould be *higher in caſh*: not that we have checked our operations in any inſtance: we conſider ourſelves as the children of Providence, and have received many providential ſupplies. Neceſſity is the mother of invention; and we muſt hope that the *rich* will give us help, to carry it through *with ſpirit* 'till the end of the war.

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I have not time at preſent, to inform you of all that we are about; but I am in hopes we ſhall hit upon the means of *providing* for our boys, when the war is ended, of which the *Society*, I make no doubt, will be very glad, but they muſt be properly *aſſiſted*. As to the great *national* object, in reſpect to our *Seamen in general*, to which you pay ſo much attention, I will let you know my thoughts in good time. FAREWELL. I am, *&c.*

PART II.

INTRODUCTION TO THE PLAN OF PROVIDING FOR SEAMEN. CALCULATIONS OF THE TONNAGE OF MERCHANT-SHIPS, AND NUMBER OF MEN EMPLOYED IN THEM, WITH THE NECESSITY OF BOUNTIES ON SOME BRANCHES OF OUR TRADE, AND THE PROPRIETY OF PECUNIARY FINES, FOR THE DUE EXECUTION.

Introduction to the thoughts upon providing for ſeamen when diſcharged from the King's ſhips, &c.

LETTER IV.

I Remember my promiſe to you, but how ſhall I execute it properly and effectually? Can you prevail on no other of your ſpeculative friends to try their ſkill? God knows I am but a *paſſenger*, in more ſenſes than one; yet as a *man*, a *ſubject*, and a *friend*, I ſhould be aſhamed to ſay, "*when I am landed, what ſignifies it to me if the veſſel ſinks.*" —I do not mean that we are in *danger*; I rather think that we ſhall make a ſucceſsful voyage, and ſoon get *ſafe* into port; but heaven knows, we may yet have a *fret* of wind. It is with great pleaſure I can tell you, that we ſeem *ſteadily* bent on bringing the war to a happy iſſue, tho' we are not *extravagantly elate* with ſucceſs, which is one proof of the *good ſenſe* of the nation. The *penſive* mood in which I am at preſent, joined to your ſollicitations, leads me to revolve in my mind, how we may take the moſt advantage of our *victories*, and ſecure ourſelves againſt a reverſe of fortune. I hope this is not preſumptuous, for the object requires that we ſhould think a little *before hand*. Obſervation on the conſequences of the laſt war, ſo re-

cent in our memory, inſtructs us to be careful, how we neglect the means of providing againſt *future* accidents.

If an attempt to ſerve our country, does not anſwer the purpoſe intended, we ſhall not act the leſs like *good citizens*. The duty of the *military* man, calls on him to try his fortune, and perhaps, through the imprudence of his *general*, or by the event of the battle, he dies *unprofitably*, but not therefore, *inglorioufly*. We are inſtructed alſo, not to be *righteous over much*; upon the ſame principle, we are not to indulge *too much anxiety* in the *beſt cauſe*; yet as few of us are carried into action without the influence of our paſſions, happy it is, when theſe have *noble objects*: to direct them *right* is more than *half* the buſineſs of *religion*.

How we ſhall take care of our ſeamen and boys when the war is ended, is a matter of *ſerious ſpeculation*; it depends on the public, and the public will judge of it. You have *fired* me with a deſire to emulate your *patriotiſm*, but it is a hard taſk, to hit upon the point you ſo earneſtly recommend.

If it pleaſes heaven to make no wonderful change in our affairs, in the way that His Majeſty's miniſters, and officers in command, manage at preſent, it cannot be very long, before a great number of our ſeamen will be diſcharged: at leaſt I hope for a more ſafe and happy peace, than this, or the former century can boaſt of. It is therefore, more than a *uſeful* ſtudy, it is *an important conſideration*, how we ſhall beſt preſerve ſuch men; and after the heavy *expences* of the war, prevent ſo great and eſſential a part of our beſt *riches* from being *ſquandered* away. I can with great truth aſſure you, that whenever any thing is offered on the ſubject, which has the leaſt mark of plauſibility, I am eager to enter upon the examination of it. This is a proof, *to my own heart at leaſt*, that I am not tenacious of my opinion, though I am of the object: I ſhall wiſh to ſee the thing done, let who will contrive the means. There are many, who if they were to beſtow ſo much thought on it as I have done, might bid fairer for ſucceſs; but this is no reaſon to me, why I ſhould be ſilent. Who knows what can be done in ſuch caſes, 'till

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we *examine arguments*, and *ſtate facts*, which cannot be accompliſhed, in a ſatisfactory manner, without *writing*.

I have been long *wedded* to an opinion, that ſomething *ſhould be done*; but after much ſtudy, I cannot ſee any better way of *doing it*, than by employing an *additional number* of hands in the *merchants ſervice*: and here I am equally perſuaded, that an advantage muſt be given adequate to the additional charge, in *every* caſe where foreigners *can* interfere with us. And it appears to me, that, under theſe circumſtances, all the favor thrown into the ſcale of *maritime* force, will preponderate equally in favor of our *trade*, which muſt be the primary object of this ſpeculation, and the only means of rendering this propoſal effectual.

It is upon this principle, I ſhall venture to tell you my thoughts, in which I have a conſtant view to the great cauſe of *humanity*, as well as to the *liberty* and *independency* of my fellow-ſubjects, all which ſeem to be intimately connected with the ſubject. The *doctrine* is far from being *new*; but altho' it ſeems to be the dictates of common ſenſe, it has not, *that I know*, been maturely examined; perhaps I may throw ſome new lights upon it, which will be of ſervice to thoſe who follow me. If it ſhould appear to you only as a *Jeu d' Eſprit*, I know your partiality for me, will prevent my ſuffering in your eſteem. It is an honeſt ſpeculation, at leaſt, to conſider,

1. *How to form an idea of the maritime ſtrength of the nation, and to prepare againſt the efforts which our enemies will probably make hereafter in time of peace, with a view to vye with us in naval power.*

2. *What diſadvantages attend our manning merchant-ſhips with ſo few hands, and what benefits will attend the increaſe of them.*

3. *How to reconcile the complaints, which are often made in regard to commerce, by the trading and moneyed part of the nation.*

4. *How to provide a ſafeguard for our commerce, by enabling the merchant, to aſſiſt the ſtate more effectually, to mann our ſhips of war in time of danger; and conſe-*

quently to defend every thing that is dear and ſacred to us, whenever that danger happens.

The *means* that may contribute to theſe ends, we muſt *conſider*; and though we cannot expect to get at the truth *at once*, without any labor, we may diſcover it *by degrees*. I deſire you will find as many faults as you decently can; you know the integrity of my views and deſigns, and I am not inſenſible of your tenderneſs and *candor*. ADIEU I am, &c.

The importance of being able to command a great Marine force.

LETTER V.

YOU are not to imagine that the ſucceſsful events of war prevent the *ſpeculative* part of mankind from looking forward. *Every one* wiſhes, that whenever it ſhall pleaſe heaven to reſtore peace on ſafe and honorable terms, as much care may be taken of thoſe brave men, by whoſe labor ſuch peace has been obtained, as the nature of their caſe and the circumſtances of the nation will admit. I know that ſeveral of his Majeſty's miniſters, as well as the *higheſt naval officers*, expreſs great humanity and concern for the welfare of the *ſailors*, as well as zeal for the *public ſervice* in general, that theſe men may not be expoſed to any inconvenience hereafter for want of employment. The *mercantile* part of this nation alſo, wiſhes to hear of ſome reſolution being taken on this head: *nothing* will afford a ſtronger ſecurity that we ſhall preſerve the fruits of a ſucceſsful war, or lighten any misfortune that may yet attend it. *Nothing* will animate more to puſh the war with vigor, than the aſſurance, that our *ſeamen* will be taken all poſſible care of at the cloſe of it: whilſt every one confeſſes, that the *only means* of ſupporting this nation in power and ſplendor, is to ſhow a *religious* concern for the *preſervation* of our marine force. It is indeed this only, that can maintain the ſuperiority which the *preſent happy direction* of the naval ſtrength of theſe kingdoms, ſeems to have obtained for us.

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As to the providing ſhips of war, it is obvious enough, that this may be done by any *power* poſſeſſed of *ſea-ports*, *dock-yards*, and *money*; the great buſineſs is to furniſh *ſeamen* in ſufficient numbers to mann ſhips, and to fit out great fleets upon emergencies. This has ever been conſidered as an object of the higheſt importance to us, and numerous projects have been formed, to obviate the inconveniences we have continually ſuffered in time of war. You know that the legiſlature have employed their attention, on many different occaſions, but unleſs a method is fixed upon to keep up, in time of *peace*, a ſufficient number of men uſed to the ſea, how will they be *ready* and prepared for *war*? or, indeed, how ſhall we attempt to *alleviate* thoſe hardſhips which perhaps we cannot, from the nature of our ſituation, entirely *remove*?

We ſee that *one ſtate*, and it is *but one*, carries on a great traffic without the expence of a naval power; but this is not our caſe, nor do we chuſe to truſt to ſuch a ſituation. Our neighbors have often convinced us, that the only means of ſupporting *our trade*, is to be ready to repel force, and this principle is interwoven with the very being of our commerce. Therefore, after training up a *fleet of mariners*, ſuch as was never ſeen in any other part of the globe, and which we cannot be ſure ever to collect the ſame number again, methinks we ſhould, even for the ſake of that very commerce, which we ſo much prize, and from motives of *gain* as well as *public love*, endevor to *preſerve* them.

To be always able to command a number of ſeamen, we muſt breed up a more numerous race of mariners, and this can be done only by indulgences, or *regulations* not yet practiſed; and unleſs *this is done*, it may hardly be ſaid we ſhall be in a defenſible condition, much leſs that we ſhall be capable of conducting our *wars*, without great *delays*, *expences*, and *danger* to our *trade* and *country*.

Mankind do not ſeem more reſigned to the diſpenſations of providence, than they uſed to be. Whatever a *nation* loſes in *war*, they are ever attentive to *recover*, eſpecially if their genius is *active*, and their country fruitful in *reſources*. Animoſity and national reſentments, joined to the particular inclination of *individuals*

who profeſs arms, muſt ever render peace precarious, longer than the enemy is in a ſtate of humiliation. In the mean while, we are to avoid ſuch means as may give umbrage, and proceed with as much *caution* in providing for *defence*, as *vigilance* in obſerving the *conduct* of other nations.

A great part of our buſineſs is done. So far as relates to the inclination of the people, every one ſpeaks with *warmth* upon the ſubject; every one ſeems *ſincere* in wiſhing to be inſtrumental in preſerving our ſeamen. I hope their wiſhing will not be in *vain!* I am &c.

The inefficacy of the ſeveral propoſals made for the benefit of Seamen.

LETTER VI.

YOU are not uninformed of the *numerous* propoſals which have been made, at different times, in behalf of the object of your lucubrations. However ineffectual they have hitherto been, they at once prove the *concurrent opinion* of the *neceſſity* of a remedy, and ſurely there is a poſſibility of finding one.—We have been entertained with a great number of ingenious ſpeculations, every one ſuppoſed, by its author, to be pregnant with the moſt ſubſtantial benefits to the community; though they have proved but mere *abortions*; but we are not therefore to *deſpair* of bringing ſomething to maturity. The ſchemes which have fallen into my hands are, 1ſt. The regiſtering of ſailors. *This has been oppoſed as an oppreſſive ſcheme. Whether the objection has any foundation in reaſon, is not much to my preſent point, for I am not happy enough to comprehend how we ſhould get at the men the more for their being regiſtered: nor can I conceive, how it would add a ſingle man to their number; nor why our men would ſhun the ſervice leſs for knowing, that at ſuch a time ſo many* ſeamen *exiſted.*

2dly, The ſcheme of half-pay for a certain number of men. *This would be a great expence, and if it were to take place, in a very ſhort time ſuch half-pay ſeamen might become landmen; or, going abroad, could not be come at in any numbers, to anſwer the expence this would occaſion.*

3dly,

3dly, The limiting the abode of ſeamen to certain ſpots by law. *If this aſcertained their PLACES, we muſt firſt diſcover the ſecret of fixing them down to a ſpot, and ſet bounds to their deſire of roving; and, even in this caſe, how would it be a means to encreaſe their numbers?*

4thly, The limiting of ſeamens wages in the merchants ſervice, in time of war. *If this were practicable, it would not add to their number, but juſt the contrary. Wages at ſea are higher than thoſe of the common laborer on ſhore; yet, to be qualified for this employment, requires much more time, and men ſuffer greater hardſhips than in common labor. If we alſo conſider the turn of a ſeaman's mind, a guinea, without reſtriction of price, will appear better than twenty four ſhillings with it.*

5thly, The deſign of obliging maſters of ſhips to bring home all the men they carry out, muſtering them often, taking them by lot for the king's uſe, &c. *This is oppoſed by many judicious and experienced merchants, and owners of ſhips, as a ſcheme both intricate and oppreſſive; and, they ſay, totally impracticable. Whatever it may be, I do not underſtand how it would be attended with any real increaſe of ſeamen.*

6thly, The *Venetian* plan, of making merchant-ſhips carry a certain number of men belonging to the ſtate, to be trained in this manner for the public ſervice, and a ſuitable bounty to be given towards the expence. *Upon this I remark, that the charge will be conſiderable; and that our conſtitution will hardly admit of giving ſuch powers to maſters of ſhips, as will be neceſſary to keep ſuch king's-men under good diſcipline.*

7thly, Another project is, to employ ſeamen in repairing and building fortifications on the ſea coaſt. *I am afraid our ſeamen would become maſons and laborers only, if they were kept long at this duty. It could be only for a time; for though I think there are certain places where we want ſtrength, yet the bulk of a great diſburſe for defence, had beſt be made in floating caſtles.*

8thly,

8thly, An ingenious friend of mine, who has a taſte for building, ſuggeſts, that a number of ſeamen might be employed, in bringing home *Portland-ſtone* for account of the government, to be uſed in public edifices, and ſold to individuals. *It would certainly be of great advantage to us, to enrich our country with ſumptuous buildings for uſe and ornament, for theſe conſtitute a great part of the riches of a nation, and it would be a NEW NURSERY of ſeamen; but, I am afraid, ſtone would become too cheap for the crown to gain by it; and, conſequently, the expence of ſupporting the men would ſoon be very heavy. There ſeems, however, to be ſomething ſuggeſted in this thought, worthy of mature conſideration. Though I cannot tell at preſent what to make of it, yet it ſtrikes me as a hint which may be improved upon, and rendered effectual, to the increaſe of our navigation, in ſome ſhape or other.*

If none of theſe projects will anſwer, we are to think of ſome other *plan*, as conſiſtent as poſſible with the end propoſed; not to controul the perſons of ſeamen; nor by any means to *burthen* trade; not to attempt to *load the public*, already oppreſſed with a *heavy debt*; and above all to take care of *liberty*. In ſhort we muſt do a *great deal* with a *little money*; but without ſome money I have no conception that *any* thing can be done.

We *talk* much of *remedies*, but in proportion as we find it difficult, we put off the conſideration of the *diſeaſe*, in hopes it will cure itſelf, which ſeems to be impoſſible. If the *rich* and *happy*, felt a quarter part of the miſeries which *preſſing* occaſions; or if the people in general had a right ſenſe of the evils which may one day happen by the repugnance of mariners to ſerve in the royal navy, our *ingenuity* would be employed on this ſubject, and we ſhould ſubdue all difficulties. The time ſeems to be drawing near for ſome happy event of this kind, and we can hardly know the *effect* of any law till after ſome trial of it.

We may lay it down as a *maxim*, that the *encouragement* of mariners will naturally tend to the *increaſe* of them; and that this will act reciprocally towards the *improvement* and *increaſe* of our *ſhipping*. If we provide for the ſeamen belonging to theſe realms, who are already made, it will certainly prevent their

ſeeking

ſeeking their bread in foreign countries, and prevent their carrying with them that ſkill and agility for which they are ſo much diſtinguiſhed. The ſailor who leaves us, certainly wounds us on both ſides; but it muſt be expected, that he who *cannot*, or *will not*, get his bread any *other* way than at ſea, not finding it at home by *honeſt* means, will either become a *robber*, or ſeek it in the ſervice of foreigners, and if the number of theſe ſhould not be ſo great as ſome imagine, it is ever *too large*, at the cloſe of a war.

It is to be preſumed, that much the greateſt part of our ſeamen, are capable of getting their bread on ſhore, and we may ſtill plead, with regard to *all* of them, that *neceſſity has no law*; but it muſt be further conſidered, that the major part of ſuch as have *homes* or *trades*, though not loſt to the *nation*, will be loſt to the *ſervice*, for any future war. Hence the ſtronger reaſon ariſes, that thoſe who are *ſeamen*, and deſire to continue ſuch, ſhould be the better provided for on this account, as well as for their real value, as *men* equally *qualified* and *ready*, to ſupport *commerce* or *war*, the two moſt valuable occupations, next to the *huſbandman's*, of any that depend on the labor of the hands, or ſtrength of the body. FAREWELL. I am &c.

General calculation of the tonnage and ſeamen employed in the merchants ſervice in Great Britain and Ireland.

LETTER VII.

WE ſhall have but a crude notion of the ſubject we are engaged upon, 'till we examine in what kind of trades our *navigation* conſiſts. If we mean to render the deſign productive of the end propoſed, we muſt conſider maturely, what parts of it will ſtand in need of aſſiſtance.

The ingenious and laborious Mr. *Poſtlethwayt*, informs us, from authentic accounts, that in the years 1743, 1747, and 1749, 1204 foreign ſhips, with 256,592 tons arrived in the ſeveral ports of *England*, without ſaying any thing of *Scotland* or *Ireland*. Theſe upon an average, are 401 ſhips, with 85,530 tons annually,

nually, and the voyages were 603, whence he very naturally infers, that the ſtrength of the neighboring maritime powers, is very conſiderably augmented.

It is remarkable, that in 1747, (in the heighth of the laſt war,) only 477 foreign ſhips arrived in *all the ports of England*, but from *January* 1757, to *January* 1758, the number was, 546 foreign ſhips in *the port of London alone*. I apprehend the number for the preſent year, 1758 to 1759, will rather exceed than fall ſhort of 546. Thus it happens, that although our trade flouriſhes extremely at this time, we have been giving up ſome eſſential parts of the advantage of it, more than in the former war. So far as relates to foreign navigation employed in our trade, *their* increaſe upon us, compared with the laſt war, will be about *one third part*. Perhaps, this may be carried partly to the account of the many tranſports we have ſo *happily* employed, in the vigorous proſecution of the war; but it is a matter worthy of attention: if we had been poſſeſſed of men, to ſupport both war and commerce, we ſhould have ſaved much, and it behoves us to look to the event, and provide better, hereafter, for both objects.

We muſt take-in the compaſs of *eight* or *ten* years, to form an *idea* of this ſubject. The laſt war was *ended* in the beginning of 1748, yet in 1749 the voyages of foreign ſhips made to our ports, more than in 1743, (which was the year before that war broke out,) were no leſs than 240. This is difficult to underſtand upon any other principle, than that it is more eaſy to *part* with our navigation than to *recover* it; and that if ſome precautions are not taken, our own ſeamen may be left in diſtreſs, when the war is over, at the very time that we employ a number of *foreign* ſhips.

As a *further illuſtration* of this argument, if I do not greatly miſtake the matter, it will be found, upon examination, that the *tonnage* of the merchant-ſhips of *England*, employed in *one year*, about *eighteen* months before the commencement of the *laſt french war*, was *one fifth part* more than the tonnage employed, *in the ſame time*, about *eighteen* months before the *preſent war*, notwithſtanding we then

then gave ſome deep ſtabs to the *french trade*, which might naturally reſult in the increaſe of our own navigation.

Mr. *Poſtlethwayt* informs us, that in 1732, the number of veſſels belonging to the port of *London*, was 1417, and the number of men who navigated them, was, 21,797. The number of ſhips belonging to *London*, at the breaking out of *the preſent war*, was indeed about 1600, and the tonnage, *as declared*, was near 240,000 tons, with about the *ſame number* of men as Mr. *P.* mentions. Thus upon *computed* tonnage and number of hands *declared*, there would be *nine* men to 100 tons, which is *ſo much* above the real mark, as proves the great *fallacy* of *theſe declarations*.

Mr. *P.* adds, that the whole number of ſhips, *coaſters*, and all included in 1732, was 8889. If the *boys* and *ſmall craft* belonging to this iſland were reckoned, it might be ſo, otherwiſe we are much fallen off; indeed our mercantile navigation is greatly *increaſed* in ſize of ſhips, and *decreaſed* in numbers. Reckoning the whole number of merchant-ſhips in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, the *Weſt Indies*, and *America*, actually employed, I apprehend they do not reach to 6000 ſhips, and many of theſe are very ſmall. — It appears, that above half the trade of *Great Britain* centers in *London*, conſequently, at this port we ſee the *glory* of the land.

The tonnage, *actually* employed, is a fluctuating object; it is variouſly *computed*, and the real meaſurement of merchant-ſhips never exactly known. Mr. *Poſtlethwayt* mentions the tonnage in 1732, as 320,000 tons; in 1742 I find it to have been 420,000 tons; and in 1754, (near the commencement of the preſent hoſtilities) it was again reduced to 340,000 tons. Notwithſtanding all theſe accounts may poſſibly be ſupported as *true*, ſo far as declarations were true at theſe different times, yet if we judge from our *reſources*, and the trade we carry on, I apprehend we ſhall be able to make out of real tonnage of merchant-ſhips above 700,000, *including* 7 or 800 ſhips belonging to *Scotland* and *Ire-*

land,

land, though we *exclude* the ſloops employed conſtantly between *North America* and the *Weſt-Indies*.

For theſe 700,000 tons, let me allow, upon a *medium*, 42,000 common-men, that is, *ſix* men to 100 tons. Now, for the *firſt* year or *two* of a war, we can have no chance of meeting with above 25 to 30,000, if we were to take them *all*, and ſome of the ſuppoſed 42,000 will never come within reach of the king's officers.—In ſhort, whilſt we are *hunting for men*, and *hunting of men*, our expences run up to a great height; our enemies have time to *prepare*; and they are ſo far the better enabled to defeat the beſt concerted operations, and *protract* a war extremely.

When merchants talk of their being only 30,000 ſeamen employed, it muſt be meant of *England* alone; and deducted from the revenue of the *Exchequer office*, which is alſo a precarious eſtimation, but be they 30,000 or upwards of 40,000, if we conſider, that only 10,000 men are employed in the King's ſhips in time of peace, both theſe objects together can make but little more than 50,000 men; and the King's ſervice alone, in time of war, requires full 60,000: conſequently *war* muſt be *obſtructed*, *commerce* totally at a *ſtand*, or the *operations* of both muſt be *contracted* into ſo much the narrower compaſs. The laſt is really the caſe, and, conſequently, creates a charge, which requires a great *ſpirit* of *gain*, as well as of *national defence*, to ſupport. In the mean while, *delays* in collecting our *natural ſtrength*, renders the event of the preparation ſo much the more precarious; and if we have not a naval force adequate, in a certain manner and degree, to the object to be preſerved, we may one day tempt providence to deſert us, which heaven forbid! ADIEU. I am &c.

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Proportion of the number of hands extraordinary proposed to be employed in merchant-ships, under proper conditions.

LETTER VIII.

WITH regard to the proportions of men to navigate our merchant-ships, upon the proposed plan of an augmentation, you are not to be surprized, *Sir*, when you hear masters of ships *differ* in opinion. Different kinds of ships, and their different voyages; masters of greater or less experience, more or less tender of their *men*, or *careful* or *negligent* of the property committed to their care, joined to the consideration of their *avarice* or *liberality*, will create a great difference in their *practice*, as well as in their *opinions*; yet it does not follow, but that all ships may be put on such a *proper* level, as will answer the *national* purpose intended.

When *contracts* are made at the *navy-board*, for *ships as transports*, the commissioners require *seven* men for every *hundred* tons: so many hands are thought proper for such kind of ships in the government's service, and which consequently that *Board* thinks *necessary*, or they would accept of *fewer* men, and agree so much the *cheaper*. I must also inform you, that the clerks of the cheque muster these hands, that there may not be any amongst them so young as to be incapable of duty. But this is no rule or guide to us as *merchants*, with regard to our *own ships* and *cargoes*.

If we calculate on 700,000 tons for *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, the *West Indies* and *America*, (exclusive of the ships employed between the islands and the continent of *America*) and if we give *seven* men, *master* included, for every *hundred* tons, it amounts to 49,000 men, really employed: this must be at least the quantity of tonnage, and the calculation of the navy-board, *upon the whole*, corresponds with *real practice in general*. But it is far from being true, that every ship of *four hundred* tons has *twenty eight men*, master and all included;

or

or that *all* veſſels of *one hundred tons*, have even *ſeven* hands, *men* and *boys*; yet there are many veſſels of *one hundred tons*, which carry *eight* or *nine men and boys*, and in the ſame proportion as high as 150 tons; and ſome of our ſhips of 400 to 600 tons, particularly *Eaſt India* and *China men*, have thrice ſeven men to 100 tons, (happy it were if they could be longer preſerved alive) conſequently we may come near the mark of ſeven men to 100 tons, upon the whole; or if we cannot, then we are ſo much poorer in ſeamen than we ought to be. — If this nation *ſhould* happily fix upon a plan, for the entertainment of *more* ſeamen in the merchant's ſervice, the moſt attention muſt be ſhewn to the crews of ſhips of *one hundred* to *two hundred* tons, for theſe conſtitute the bulk of our *European* navigation.

If we require *one* man or *boy* to *ten* tons, as high as fifty tons, and *one* for every twelve tons after, as high as *one hundred and fifty* tons, maſter included, the augmentation upon the number uſually carried, would be rather above *two* upon *thirteen*. For every *twenty* tons after (not reckoning any fractional parts) as high as *two hundred tons*, the number for ſuch a ſhip, would ſtill make but *fifteen* hands, which will hardly exceed an augmentation of *two* upon the crew; but for ſhips of greater burthen, we may calculate *one* man or boy for every *thirty* tons, which, droping the fraction, makes *eighteen* for *three* hundred tons, and *twenty one* for *four hundred* tons.

If we compute the navigation at 6000 ſhips, and give *one* man or boy to *one third* part, *two* for *one third*, and *three* for the *remaining third*, the augmentation will be 12,000. Or, if we reckon the navigation at 5500 ſhips, and add *one* man to *one third* part of them, and *two* for *two thirds*, then the increaſe will be only 9167. But if the number, which we *may moſt ſafely compute* on, as veſſels of burthen, is but 5000, and we appoint *one* man or boy for *one third* part, *two* for *one third* part, and *three* for *one third* part, which is *two* upon the whole, then the increaſe would be juſt 10,000. I ſhall explain this matter more fully hereafter, and you ſhall judge what the augmentation is, upon the face of my *table of calculation*.

You

You will pleaſe to obſerve, this proportion bears ſuch an affinity to the object in queſtion, as enables us to form an *idea* of what may be done without diſtreſſing navigation, that is, without loading it with a greater number of men, than can be accommodated with *eaſe*, or with more charge than can be borne with convenience.

The intention of this ſpeculation, is not alone to provide for ſome ſupernumary ſeamen, after the war is ended, but alſo to ſupport a greater, conſtant *marine-force*. And if it tends to reſtore things to a *more fair* and a more conſiſtent rule of conduct, productive of national ſtrength, it will be ſo much the more happy. — As to ſupplying the place of thoſe whom *mortality* carries off, the breeding up boys as *apprentices*, is the moſt natural *expedient*, concerning which, I will alſo give you my thoughts in due time.

In the mean while, the great difficulty that occurs, is the conſideration of the *ſmall profits on ſhipping*; this muſt be *removed*, or the *whole fabric* will be in danger of falling. We muſt therefore give a *bounty*, which from the nature of it, if properly diſpoſed, ſhall not barely *ſupport*, but ſtrengthen *our edifice*, and render it as commodious, as it will be regular and beautiful.

To aſcertain the tonnage of ſhips, in order to this *bounty*, is a taſk that requires no great attention. A ſhip need not be meaſured but once, and not at all, if there is no ſuſpicion of a fraudulent account being given in; and it is eaſy to meaſure ſhips. If the tonnage is eſtimated the ſame, as that on which the *Lights* are paid, though ſhe is ſuppoſed to be really the *double*, the number of hands may be calculated, but I apprehend this method will be ſubject to *exceptions*.

Further, to fix this deſign upon a *plain* and *ſimple* foundation, obvious to every capacity, I propoſe to drop the diſtinction of *man* and *boy*, and leave the maſter to accommodate himſelf, juſt as he pleaſes, only that he muſt take his *groſs number*, or pay a *fine* for the deficiency. The *romantic* terror of a regiſtry will be thus removed, for where not even a *name* is taken, except the *maſters*, there can be no claim on particular men. Then, ſuppoſing an additional hand or two, and a *bounty* given on them, as *men*, whether they are *men* or *boys*, the advantage in favor

of

of ſhipping increaſes ſo much, that the argument may be reverſed, and inſtead of ſuſpecting that trade will be burthened, it may be asked, "*what occaſion is there for ſo much favor to navigation?*"

You will pleaſe to obſerve, I am now ſpeaking of ſuch branches of our trade, where foreigners have already a ſhare, and may interfere with us yet more; in *all other caſes*, I ſuppoſe that the *conſumer* at home is to pay a ſmall *additional* freight, the ſmaller it is the better, provided the *end* be anſwered; and I muſt tell you moſt *honeſtly*, that be it more or leſs, the object in queſtion appears to me of much greater importance to the community at large, than any ſuch additional freight can poſſibly be. And though I am aware of much that may be ſaid, with *greater* or *leſs* reaſon, the advantages preponderate ſo much on the ſide of the augmentation, that I think it is a ſpeculation moſt highly deſerving of our ſerious attention, of which you will be the better judge hereafter. ADIEU. I am &c.

The neceſſity and propriety of bounties to owners of ſhips, as an equivalent for the additional number of hands, required in all ſuch trades, where foreigners can interfere with us.

LETTER IX.

YOU are too zealous for the welfare of your country, and too attentive to the welfare of it, not to ſee what great things this nation does, towards the encouragement of public undertakings; but if our meaſures were not circumſcribed by the conſideration of *our national debt*, we might do much more in *time of peace*, towards promoting the arts of it, with the *eaſe*, the *comfort*, and the embelliſhment of life, in every ſtation. Our genius and the lights we enjoy, would enable us to undertake and execute every thing that is *grand* or *uſeful*. Such a day I hope will come, though it may not be in *your* life, nor *mine*. Let what will happen, as a *juſt* people, as a nation bleſt with *the choiceſt bounty heaven* beſtows on mortal men, we muſt take care, *in due time*, to diſcharge our duty to God and our country. To neglect it, would be to draw down the vengeance of the Almighty, to deprive us of that, which we knew not how to value. We muſt therefore pay off *in time of peace*, a part of the debt contracted

in

in war; and regulate our meaſures accordingly. I do not mean to complain of the diſpenſation of providence, nor to conclude what *might have been our fate*, had our government, in paſt times, purſued a different plan. We know that we are a great nation, and it is probable, with a little *virtue* and *common ſenſe*, we ſhall be able, in *fifteen* or *twenty* years, to pay off, I will be bold to ſay, *forty* or *fifty* millions of debt, and put ourſelves on ſuch *even ground*, as to have nothing to dread: and as we can hardly calculate on a peace of a longer duration, this, I humbly conceive, is the genuine *account* we *ought* to make. No period of time can furniſh an inſtance of a more entire and unreſerved confidence in miniſters, than the preſent: and though I do not pretend that this is a prelude to the *millennium*, we may *ſee* and *feel* that *true power* is founded in *virtue*; and that if we are not falſe to ourſelves, we ſhall ſtand upon a rock, which nothing but the hand of the Almighty can ſubvert. If we employ the ſame vigor in time of *peace*, to *ſave* money, as we do now in *war* to *ſpend* it *properly*, it is to be hoped, we ſhall gather happy fruits in this arduous field of contention. In order to this end, we muſt render our *militia* ſerviceable, as an internal ſtrength in caſe of danger, that the ſmaller army may be neceſſary. Upon the ſame great principle, whilſt *good order* and *diſcipline* accompany a martial ſpirit, and the people are at length made ſenſible of the charms of ſobriety, the *merchants-ſervice* may adminiſter to the ſupport of a proper *marine-force*: this may be done for about one tenth part of the ordinary expence. The more induſtry flouriſhes, the greater will our numbers be, and we need not take any hands for the *ſea*, from the *plough*, or the *loom*. To diſtreſs men with ſevere labor, or let them *ruſt* in *indolence*, ought equally to be avoided. The ſoldier may acquire *ſome proficiency* in his art, without going into the field of battle, but no man can be a ſailor without going to ſea; conſequently men muſt be occaſionally employed on the water, in ſome ſhape or other, or the end propoſed can never be obtained.

Thus if we make a true diſtinction, between ſuch kind of expences as repay themſelves, from ſuch as are a dead charge, I am perſuaded, that a ſum not exceeding *fifty to ſixty thouſand pounds a year*, may be very happily employed in behalf of *owners of ſhips*, even amongſt other great and good ends, that our *na-*

tional debt may not be the cauſe of its own *perpetual* continuance; for if it lays us under a kind of neceſſity of *neglecting* ſuch meaſures, as in their tendency *prevent war*, then we ſhall moſt certainly be the ſooner involved in freſh quarrels, on account of, and owing to, this very debt.

To ſay that *bounties in general* are not approved of by the *Britiſh* government, is not true; and to urge, that *individuals* have too little conſideration for the *public*, for us to enter into any further meaſures of this kind, is equally unworthy of *both*. The abuſe of any thing is a good reaſon to be wary, as to the *means*, but not to neglect the *end* propoſed. *Public money* is now in good hands, and huſbanded with the utmoſt care and attention; and when it is conſidered, how ſmall the public expence will be in *time of peace*, to what it is now in *war*; and that this object is an *article* of ſo important a nature, with regard both to *peace* and *war*, if it can be proved that a proper diſpoſition of ſuch expence will probably anſwer the end propoſed, I am far from thinking, that any difficulty will attend the obtaining ſuch a *bounty*, or prevent the execution of this propoſal.

Was the government to entertain theſe *ten thouſand* ſupernumary ſeamen in their ſervice, it would coſt full *half a million*; and moreover it might give ſuch umbrage to other ſtates, as would lay the foundation of another quarrel ſo much the ſooner. In the *merchants-ſervice*, the ſame number as *extraordinaries*, being entertained, through the whole year, would coſt 240,000 *l.* but I ſuppoſe it entirely *unneceſſary*, to give any *bounty* for the *better manning* our merchant-ſhips, where foreigners *cannot* interfere with us. Under theſe happy circumſtances, I conſider the whole *coaſting-trade*, our *Weſt-india commerce*, with our traffic to the great continent of *America*; all which conſtitute near *two thirds* of the whole, conſequently the 240,000, is reduced to 80,000 *l.*

It is not to be conceived, that taking-in our trades to *Norway*, and the *Baltic*, our fiſheries, with our *Portugueſe*, *Spaniſh* and *Italian* trades, that ſhips are employed, at the moſt, above *eight months* in the year; conſequently the ſum of 80,000 *l.* is reduced *one third part*, viz. to 53,332 *l.* For this ſum, or thereabouts,

abouts, I imagine the thing may be *well-done*, and we ſhall ſave to the *ſtate*, in the courſe of *twenty years*, taking-in the contingences of war, inſtead of *one million*, perhaps *twenty millions*, beſides a multitude of lives. This will appear more clearly, if we examine, how wars are protracted, and what *diſtreſſes* and *expences* are occaſioned by the *want* of ſeamen, and the *vaſt charge of raiſing them*, which enormous ſum will ſoon appear in *public*.—As nice an object as trade is, it is eaſy to diſcover, that *money* is ſo much the meaſure of it, that every obſtacle may be removed by means of its *ſovereign virtues*, in every caſe, where neither nature nor violence counteract its operations and effects, as our merry poet ſays,

——— like the word of kings,
'Tis the laſt reaſon of all things.

The whole frame of commerce may be rendered ſtrong and compact by means of it, and the reſources of war *ſtrengthened* and augmented. Whatever may be the event of this ſpeculation, I hope we ſhall not loſe ſo *important* an object for the ſake of *ſuch* a ſum.

You ſee it is not meant to *load*, but to *lighten* and invigorate every branch of our navigation; for if a *bounty* is given for *ſeamen*, it is indirectly giving a bounty on the *goods* ſhipped for foreign markets, to promote their ſale. In proportion as there is an increaſe of *ſeamen*, it is probable our *manufactures*, our *corn*, and *fiſh*, will be in ſo much the leſs danger of becoming a prey to *rocks* and *ſands*: and if it is *national loſs* to be deprived of *national property*, then we muſt be national gainers by ſaving it. Nor need *you* be afraid for your poor neighbors at their looms, for if the merchant ſaves his goods, or inſures them *cheaper*, he will find the *more*, not the *leſs*, encouragement to trade.

We ſee what noble and beneficial effects, the *bounty* on the *Whale-fiſhery* has produced, towards the great end of breeding up *ſeamen*, and increaſing national *riches*, by ſearching them out from the profound abyſs; but this bounty is incomparably greater then any that is the object of the preſent ſpeculation. *We* are thinking of 10 or 20 *l.* when ſome of theſe ſhips are entitled to 800 *l.* and

to all appearance, very happily for the nation. But whilſt we meditate how to ſhow all poſſible favor to every article that ſhall *require* it, the ſmaller the part charged on the *public purſe*, and the greater on the *conſumer*, *in our preſent ſituation*, the more beneficial it will be to the *whole community*. The very labor of the *public officer*, in *receiving* of the *public* with *one hand*, and *paying* the *ſhip-owner* with the *other*, muſt be *paid*, and will take up time; but the maſter's receiving his *proper freight* will be in the *common courſe of buſineſs*.

I am perſuaded, that *guarding* every part of our trade that *requires* a guard, *fifty* to *ſixty* thouſand pounds, will anſwer effectually. I am not for any *hazardous* enterprize upon the fortune of the *public*, more than upon the fortunes of *private* men. Let us provide, as is intended by this propoſal, againſt every approach of danger, and carry our point, as it were without *riſking* a battle: but let us not ſuffer a *timorous imagination* to run away with our underſtandings, and at the ſame time countenance great and certain evils, pregnant with *real* danger. — It certainly is a duty to *watch* the *avenues*, that no evil may creep in upon us, or whilſt a deſign of this nature, erects *a monument* of *national ſtrength* on one ſide, it may not *weaken* any part of the great fabric of commerce: but we ſhould form very imperfect conceptions of our own ſituation, if we blended our *whole trade* together; and for want of diſtinguiſhing the ſeveral parts of it, loſt an object of the greateſt moment, for *fear* of loſing one, which may be ſo eaſily ſuccoured and preſerved.

Let us ever carry in our minds, the *importance* of keeping up a more conſiderable number of *mariners* in time of peace. Let us reflect, that ſeamen are the *efficient cauſe* of all our commerce, demonſtrably ſo in time of *peace*, and ſtill more in *war*: that they are moſt apparently the *ſafety* of our Iſle, the *advance-guard* of our *liberty*, and the *ſource* from whence the ſplendor of the nation flows. They are the moſt *valuable* part of our riches: with good management the *ſtock* may be ſupported, and we may, as it were, live upon the *intereſt*; but if we ſquander away any conſiderable part of the *principal*, we may become *poor indeed!* It is a *general duty*, to put ſeamen in a way of life, that they may be able to take care

of

of themſelves, and it is a *particular* duty of *military* and *mercantile* people, at all times, to have an immediate eye to thoſe who ſerve under them in *war* and *commerce*, that, when their own diſcretion fails, they may be *aſſiſted*.

The preſent ſpeculation rather demands *good regulations* than *large diſburſements*. There can be no neceſſity of any draught on the public treaſury, in any proportion repugnant to the abilities and inclinations of the people. On the contrary, if ſome *general* tax was laid on us, in time of peace, and accounted for ſtrictly to parliament, notwithſtanding our numerous taxes, I am perſuaded, rather than loſe the object, the people would be pleaſed to pay ſuch tax for this *particular purpoſe*. *Prudence* muſt be our *guide*, but our greatneſs will ever ariſe from enlarging our ideas; from our vigilance, parſimony, and activity; from our fear of God, and our encouragement of labor; with the comforting *each other in every rank and ſtation*; not from contracted views of our own abilities, and real reſources which we may conſiſtently make uſe of, and which, I apprehend, we *ought* to make uſe of. FAREWELL. I am, &c.

The ſituation of ſeveral branches of our trade, in regard to the utility of bounties on navigation.

LETTER X.

TO illuſtrate our ſubject, let us examine ſome inſtances in different branches of trade. Suppoſe a ſhip loaden with our woollen manufactures for *Liſbon*, or *Cadiz*, value 15,000 *l.* navigated with *two* men extraordinary, (and beyond this number my ſpeculation does not extend for ſhips of 150 tons) the utmoſt of this voyage will be *four* months. The common price of wages is 22 *s.* 6 *d.* to 24 *s.* (and half ſeamen are ſometimes had at 12 *s.* to 15 *s.*) and victualing about 16 *s.* per month, but I will put theſe two articles at 40 *s.* and ſuppoſing theſe to be both *men*, and no *boy*, it will be only 16 *l.* or 21 *s.* 4 *d.* per 1000 *l.* Now ſuppoſing *no bounty were granted*, the queſtion is, whether theſe 21 *s.* 4 *d.* falling partly on the merchant, and partly on the owner of the ſhip, or partly on the conſumer of the goods, if any merchant can ſay, that this is an object

which

which can in any degree endanger the ſale of his goods, or that the *conſumer* will *feel* it? He muſt recollect alſo, that 10 *s.* 8 *d.* of theſe 21 *s.* 4 *d.* are chargeable on the cargo *home*, ſo that the whole will be imperceptibly loſt. But ſuppoſing the cargo conſiſts of *corn*, or *fiſh*, and does not exceed the value of 1500 *l.* the ſhip included, this ſuppoſition is more *intereſting*. Now the mercantile world knows, that theſe are commodities, the value of which, at foreign markets, depends on the demand, and this induces the merchant to ſend ſuch goods thither; and his *profit*, *or loſs*, generally ariſes from the *glut or ſcarcity*. Granting that the *freight* on ſuch kind of goods is a *great object*, yet the difference can be *great*, only when it is increaſed to a *great height*, as frequently happens in time of war, and not ſuch an advance as the preſent propoſal of a man or two extraordinary, includes. If ſuch commodities are wanted, the *conſumer* will chearfully pay for them; and was it ever known that *two nations* were in ſuch equal circumſtances, to ſupply ſuch commodities, as that the difference of 10 *l.* or 15 *l.* in the freight of a cargo, determined either of them to *purſue* or *deſiſt*? Such calculations are very important on *gold* and *ſilver*, but they will not do with *corn* and *fiſh*. The competition then cannot be between us and other nations, in this caſe, and therefore this cannot be urged, with any force of argument, againſt the propoſal. I mention this to ſhow, that many other cauſes muſt concur to drive trade out of the hands of one nation into thoſe of another, and *not* to invalidate a claim to a *bounty* for ſuch additional *hands* as may be required, in each ſhip, upon the plan propoſed. I calculate the *bounty* for *every* part of our trade, in which it may be thought, with the leaſt propriety, that foreigners can interfere with us; and yet that the expence of the public ſhall not exceed 50 to 60,000 *l.* When we come to the diſtinctions of the ſeveral *principal branches* of our navigation, the advantages ariſing from this propoſal will appear in the ſtrongeſt view.

1ſt. As to our ſhips and maſters which may be properly denominated *traders* to *Portugal* and *Spain*, theſe take off the bulk of our manufactures, and conſequently theſe *deſerve the moſt attention*. We ſend many woollens to *Eaſt India* and *China*, but the ſhips in this trade are out of the preſent queſtion. *Ruſſia* and *Germany* alſo take off many of our woollens, but *Portugal* and *Spain* are the countries

countries which demand the greateſt part. I apprehend it is rather too large a calculation to call ſuch trade *three hundred and ſixty* ſhips. Including *Italy* and *Turkey* let us ſuppoſe they *are* ſo many, that they are employed *eight months* in the year, and conſequently *four* months in *exporting* our own commodities, i. e. in the voyage *outwards*. Let us give to *three hundred* ſhips *two men*, and to *ſixty* ſhips *three* men extraordinary, the whole of the expence *outwards* at 40 *s.* a month for wages and victuals, will not then exceed 6240 *l.* A *bounty* to this amount would compenſate for the extraordinary charge, even on theſe *very material branches* of our commerce.

2dly, In regard to the *freights home*, it muſt be conſidered, that the produce of thoſe countries (raw ſilk excepted) are the moſt bulky, and require more tonnage, but they are of much leſs conſequence to us; the *conſumer* at home muſt neceſſarily pay the freight of them in ſome ſhape or other. The good people of *England* would have as *pure wine*, as they now have, if 8 *l.* extraordinary were chargeable on 300 pipes, (which is a ſhip's loading of *Malaga*, *Liſbon*, or *Oporto*) for reckoning 144,000 bottles in a ſhip, it will be leſs than *three* halfpence per 100 bottles. Notwithſtanding things *may* be viewed in this light, yet in conſideration of the ſuperior merit of ſuch ſhips, in carrying out our manufactures, it appears to me as a right meaſure to extend the bounty alſo to the voyage homeward, though the ſum, *on theſe important branches*, ſhould reach as high as 12,480 *l.* The greater the encouragement, the more ready ſhips may be to go to ſuch markets, and conſequently the more woollen goods may be ſent thither. In any caſe, the giving a bounty for ſo great a purpoſe can never hurt us; but, if we mean to purſue the object of this ſpeculation, and yet not give any bounty, though it is not eaſy to trace out how our trade would be *much* affected, yet I confeſs it might be prudent to decline the experiment.

I have included ſhips for *Turkey*, I fear they are very few. If any of theſe ſhips uſually carry more hands than the propoſal requires, the bounty cannot be honeſtly demanded. And as to *Mediterranean* traders, commonly called *act ſhips*, which carry more hands than this ſpeculation reaches to, theſe are alſo

out

out of the queſtion, and could create no difficulty, but ſuch as might be eaſily ſurmounted, ſince the ſum in diſpute would be but a trifle.

3dly, In our *Baltic* trade, ſhips are freighted with a view to what they ſhall bring *home*, and not what they *carry out*; ſo that be the freight more or leſs, the *conſumer* at home pays it in a direct view. And granting that ſuch freights home may relate to a *raw material*, which we manufacture, ſuch as *flax* and *iron*, yet the quantities of theſe, re-exported, one would imagine, could never feel the ſmall additional freight in queſtion. It is not eaſy to conceive that a knife, value *two-pence*, would feel *two* men for *two* months on 100 tons of iron, that is, 8 *l.* on 1800 *l.*, value before manufactured, and not a tenth part ſo much afterwards, eſpecially if we reckon the *manufacturer's gain* by his hands being better ſecured to him, and his whole trade and property the better protected in time of war. ——But ſtill it is a *foreign* trade, and *foreigners* may interfere with us; therefore if *Ruſſia* and *Swediſh* merchants think that they ſhall ſucceed the better, by a *bounty* on the freights *out* or *home*, or *both*, the public expence will be very little augmented by it. In *one* view there ſeems to be as little reaſon for the *public purſe* to bear any charge on account of *imports* from *foreign* countries, as there is upon *imports* from our fellow-ſubjects in *America*; but regard muſt be had, in both caſes, to ſuch parts of our *imports* as we *export* again, and on which no drawbacks are allowed; (*a*) thus fixing the time at *ſix* months inſtead of eight, and calling the *bounty* 12 *l.* per man, inſtead of 16 *l.* it might be very properly allowed. There is this reaſon for it, abſtracted from any thing that may now relate to ſtores from any of the dominions belonging to this crown, that *naval ſtores*, like ſeamen, are the efficient cauſe of all commerce.

4thly,

(*a*) As I am upon the ſubject of the *Ruſſia* trade, it may be worth noting, that our navigation would receive a freſh recruit, if a drawback were allowed on the exportation of cordage to *foreign* dominions. This branch, which is conſiderable for *Spain* and *Portugal*, is entirely in other hands. It is true, the *Dutch* work up the inferior kinds of hemp, and uſe a great quantity of tar, which weighs-in, and makes the commodity very *cheap* in *price*, and very *dear* to the conſumer, by its little duration.

4thly, As to our fiſheries, they are eſſential parts of our riches, and ought to be conſidered as attentively as our woollen manufactures: there can be no doubt about the propriety of allowing a bounty on this article; and happy it would be, if we improved our home fiſheries more than we do; they might be a great acquiſition of ſtrength to us.

5thly, As to the wood-branch from the *Baltic*, or *Ruſſian* dominions, if *additional* ſeamen are employed in theſe trades, a *bounty*, equivalent to the charge, muſt abſolutely be paid. The ſame reaſons extend to the *Norway* trade, and to maſts, &c. from *America*, the freight on theſe articles being oftentimes of greater amount than the value of the cargo. Theſe trades employ, during a great part of the year, in time of peace, about 350 ſail of ſhips, and conſequently is a very material object. It will take-in above half part of the *bounty* I propoſe, but then the number of hands employed in it, is conſiderable, and which, I have ſaid, cannot be employed at all if we burthen the *freight*. The ſmall value of this commodity diſtinguiſhes it from all others, I therefore *change* the proportion, and put ſhips of 300 tons on a par, *as to hands*, with ſhips of 250 tons; and beſides this, I ſuppoſe a bounty given to *two hands* more than in other ſhips. All this appears to be *neceſſary*, and is within compaſs. — It muſt be obſerved, that many ſhips employed in the *ſummer ſeaſon* to fetch deals and fir-trees from *Norway*, are *colliers* in the winter, ſo that a *bounty* for eight months is alſo a large allowance.

6thly, In our *colony trade*, there are likewiſe ſeveral circumſtances which deſerve conſideration. — If a ſhip, for inſtance, is ſent from *London* to load *wheat*, *flour*, or *pipe-ſtaves*, at *Philadelphia*, for *Liſbon*, ought not a bounty to be allowed for the *two* men extraordinary which ſhe carries, at leaſt ſo far as relates to the run from *Philadelphia* to *Liſbon?* I grant that it may be preſumed, the cheapneſs of theſe commodities, in a country not taxed at all, or very lightly compared with her mother-country, may well bear ſo trifling an *impoſt* (if we can call it ſuch) on her produce, exported for foreign markets. Foreigners on the other hand will gladly pay for theſe commodities when they want them, without

feeling that the freight is 6 or 8 *l.* on the cargo dearer than it uſed to be. In the mean while, ſuch foreigners cannot ſend their own ſhips to our ports, and we have nothing to fear on this account. A ſhilling a ton, on ſhips of 180 tons, for ſuch part of the voyage as relates to the commodity ſo carried to a *foreign market*, and not brought to any of *our own*, might anſwer the purpoſe. There have been times when the quantity of corn and flour exported from *America* for *European* markets, was very conſiderable, and employed a great number of ſhips. Such times may come again, but I do not conceive that the *Americans* will have the *leſs* trade for carrying a hand or two extraordinary, but rather the *more*; for part of their traffic conſiſting in ſhips, the more *ſeamen* they have, the more *ſhips* they will *ſell*; and being better mann'd, they will be in the leſs diſtreſs in caſe of mortality. Notwithſtanding what may be urged, it is ſtill a branch in which foreigners may, in ſome degree, interfere with us; and as theſe voyages are made for *Britiſh* account, it is probable the riches will center in their *mother-country*, therefore ſhe may afford ſome little indulgences to her *children*; conſequently, if theſe ſhips bring home as many *Britiſh ſeamen*, or boys, as they carry out, (mortality excepted) I humbly conceive, that *half bounty* may be allowed to all ſuch ſhips, and I have accordingly included it in my calculation.

7thly, The article of *rice* from *Carolina* is under the ſame circumſtances, but in a much ſtronger degree: the greateſt part of it is ſent to *Portugal*, *Spain*, and *Germany*. There is no place that can come in competition with *Carolina*, but ſtill I would guard it with a religious care. The quantity is computed, at near 70,000 barrels, of four hundred weight each, beſides 4 or 5000 barrels of pitch and tar, and 2000 barrels of indigo, &c. conſequently loads about 50 ſhips of 200 tons. There is nothing can give ſo ſtriking an evidence to merchants trading to that quarter of the world, of the real importance of the object of this ſpeculation, as the loſs of many of their ſhips during the preſent war. If we had more ſeamen, we could certainly have ſupplied *ſtronger convoys*. Let us now *look forward*, and lay the foundation of *future ſecurity*, in time of danger.

8thly,

8thly, The next great article is *tobacco*, the annual quantity of which, imported into *Great Britain*, I believe, is near 70,000 hogſheads, two third parts of which is re-exported for *Germany*, *Holland*, and *France*. *Virginia merchants* may poſſibly think, there is more danger of loſing their plantations from a want of ſeamen to mann the *King's* ſhips, than their *tobacco-trade* from the paying a trifle, for an additional number of hands, to navigate *their own* ſhips. It is well known theſe foreign nations cannot buy tobacco any where near ſo cheap: the drawback on it is ſo great, that there is but a mere trifle left to the public revenue of theſe kingdoms. But, not to put things out of their channel, nor yet loſe *our object*, if the government of this country deſires to ſee more ſeamen employed, why may not *two thirds bounty* be given on all the *tobacco ſhips* alſo? This ſeems to include every caſe which is the leaſt ambiguous, and we ſhall ſtill be *gainers* on the whole account; I ſhould therefore be for ſuch a *bounty* on this part of our navigation alſo.

There ſeems to be one way of obtaining an additional aid to the *public purſe*, with regard to tobacco, and many other articles; I mean the taking effectual care to prevent *ſmuggling*, in time of peace. The purchaſe of the *iſle of mann*, is an object which I have often heard mentioned with great pleaſure; and I hope, when peace returns to bleſs the land, this will be one of the firſt objects we ſhall attempt; and, it may be hoped, we ſhall have virtue and reſolution enough to *overturn* the very *foundations* of clandeſtine negotiations in that part, which has long given ſuch ſtabs to the *public revenue*.

In the mean while, the aſſiſtance afforded by the extraordinary *hands* whether in the *ſafety* of our ſhips, their diſpatch in diſcharging and loading in a foreign port, where the natives muſt be often hired; or their greater expedition in their ſeveral voyages, will compenſate for the charge. With regard to any of our trades where ſhips may exceed the proportions of men required, nothing more can be inferred from ſuch ſpeculation as this, than that it is a commercial regulation, providing againſt ſhips going *under mann'd*.

With reſpect to *ſugar*, it is an article of much greater importance, than any other of our imports concerned in this calculation. In the year 1758, the quantity imported into theſe kingdoms has been very large, and foreigners have taken off a greater part than, perhaps, has been known at any time, for we ſeem to command moſt of the markets of *Europe*. Except what the *Portugueſe*, *Spaniſh*, *Daniſh*, and *Dutch* colonies produce, all which are much ſhort of what either *our* colonies, or the *French* furniſh, none *can* be brought into *Europe*, but as the chance of war permits. I need not relate to you, how it comes about, that we now *figure* ſo high in this article: how long it will laſt, is difficult to ſay; hardly very long, unleſs we become more the favourites of providence than it is reaſonable to expect. Inſtead of *ſelling* ſugar to foreigners, in time of peace, I apprehend we ſometimes *buy* from other nations, and I fear it is alſo ſmuggled in upon us in ſome parts of the iſland, though, I think, in no great quantities. The caſe is too plain: the *French* brought home their ſugar near 30 *per cent.* cheaper than we did ours. I have known purchaſes made in *Bourdeaux* at 24 *livres* the 100 lb. which is 10 *per cent.* better than our weight, when ſugar of the ſame, or inferior quality, could not be bought in *London* for leſs than 90 *s.* the Cwt. There have been years in which *Hamburgh* has imported 60,000 hogſheads of *French* ſugar for refining, without a ſingle one of *Engliſh*. This is not owing to the *freight home*, but to the extent and *fertility* of the *French plantations*, and the *cheapneſs* of *their labor*, and manner of living, compared with ours. — If hereafter we ſhould be able to vye with them, ſo as to ſell to foreigners, (which I think can hardly happen, whilſt we conſume ſuch immenſe quantities ourſelves,) and if we were to charge an extraordinary freight, we may calculate that *two* men for eight months is 32 *l.* on 300 *hogſheads*, which is about two-pence *per hundred* weight. Perhaps this 2 *d.* in the ſafety and expedition of the voyage, might be well ſaved. But, if we conſume the ſugar ourſelves, let the *conſumer* pay the freight; and, if we *do not* conſume it, then this 2 *d. per* hundred weight, ſhould be repaid in the drawback, on ſuch part as is *really* exported.

We may be guarded at all points; but we muſt not think that the object in queſtion is a *ſhadow*. We have the moſt convincing proof before our eyes, that

ſugar,

ſugar, *rice*, *tobacco*, *hemp*, *timber*, *iron*, and *all* depend on our having a *ſufficient* number of *ſeamen*, for without them we muſt *receive the law*; whereas the nation which ſupports its power at ſea, need not be afraid that their trade will periſh: there muſt be wild conduct indeed, to bring that about.

Of all the objects of this ſpeculation, the *coal-trade* is the moſt material. The ordinary number of voyages annually made from *Newcaſtle* to *London*, is about ſeven, but to ſome out-ports not ſo many: the veſſels employed in this trade at different ſeaſons, are computed at a *thouſand*; but if we conſider ſhips as conſtantly employed, I apprehend, they will hardly exceed *eight hundred*, including thoſe which go to *Hamburgh*, *Flanders*, &c. We have no reaſon to fear, that a ſmall additional freight on ſuch coal-ſhips, will in the leaſt hurt the exportation; they may eaſily charge it to the conſumer abroad, the ſame as at home. Theſe ſhips alone might entertain 3000 to 4000 *men* and *boys* extraordinary; and I lay a great ſtreſs upon this object, for the end might be obtained at a ſmall charge to the *conſumer*, without any public bounty. For ſuppoſing a ſhip of a moderate burthen, of 250 chaldron, carrying *three* hands extraordinary, reckoning them at 30 *s. per* month wages and victuals, (for which price they can eaſily get ſuch hands as they want,) and the voyage *two* months, it is but 9 *l.* very little above *eight-pence per chaldron*; whereas it is well known, that a foul wind, or the want of ſeamen, often create a difference of 8, 10, or 15 *ſhillings*. My computation of 15 hands to 250 tons, exceeds what they navigate with, and I have calculated *eight pence per* chaldron extraordinary freight, and ſuppoſe we pay a *ſhilling* or *ſixteen-pence*, it can be of no great moment. The truth is, a ſhip of 250 tons can but ill weigh her anchor with leſs than 12 men and *boys*, the maſter included. There are now *ſome charges* on coals, which may *in time* give place to a nobler object. If all that is dear to us is concerned in this ſpeculation, directly or more remotely, will *poſterity* reproach us, for taxing our fuel with a trifling charge. If we, who are a rich nation, and are ſupplied ſo liberally with fuel, and ſo many thouſands of the working poor ſpend in a *day's diverſion*, more than the additional charge on their *years firing*, will our children complain? They muſt

muſt be intoxicated indeed, with good fortune, if they do. But if they find themſelves diſtreſſed, will they not be *amazed* at the ſtrangeneſs of our *policy*, if we neglect ſo great national preſervation and defence? —— The coaſting trade is a very great object, ſome call it *three*, ſome *four thouſand*, veſſels; but this ſwells the number of ſhips beyond what any authentic accounts will bear; if we reckon 20 *great out-ports*, 28 *leſſer*, and 108 denominated *creeks*, and 16 veſſels in each, it is 2496, and amounts in tonnage to *near one fifth* part of our navigation. To make all this the more intelligible to you, I will ſend you in good time, a table of calculations, not what I think a *perfect* eſtimate, but ſomething very near the mark. FAREWELL. I am, &c.

The neceſſity of pecuniary fines, when ſhips do not carry the full number of ſeamen, required by the regulation propoſed.

LETTER XI.

METhinks, I tread on *fairy ground*, if my ſubject ſhould *enchant me*, you muſt diſſolve the *ſpell*. Well, Sir, we have given rewards to the virtuous, we muſt now inflict our puniſhment on the diſobedient. I have often thought that *laws* without *penalties*, are like a houſe without a *covering*, and without *proper officers* to carry them into execution, they bear a ſtrong ſimilitude with the ſame houſe, without a *door* to it. The *firſt* idea of law is that of a rule of duty; the *next* includes a compulſory obligation. Under *arbitrary* governments, theſe are generally moſt ſevere; penalties are exacted with moſt rigor; and the law itſelf moſt ſubject to be *miſconſtrued* or *violated*. In a *free* ſtate, where laws are ill obſerved, or totally neglected, we all know that liberty muſt neceſſarily degenerate into anarchy and confuſion, and good ſubjects be involved in common with the moſt abandoned.

If it is for the benefit of the ſtate, that we ſhould maintain more *ſeamen*, it ſeems to be as conſiſtent that *maſters of merchant-ſhips* ſhould *breed* them up, as that *bakers* ſhould bake our *bread*. All laws are ſuppoſed to be good and ſalutary,

lutary, 'till they are found otherwiſe, but ſome are in their nature, ſo ambiguous, it becomes a queſtion, if the community can derive any benefit from them. The regulation propoſed is calculated for the ſervice of numbers of the lower claſſes who are upon a common level of *freedom*; and yet in time of war, are ſubject to peculiar hardſhips beyond others, ariſing partly from *neceſſity*, and partly from the *want* of ſuch a regulation. We have found by long experience, that there is generally a repugnance to *penal laws*, particularly ſuch as affect the common people; but when *ſuch penal laws* are calculated for the *eaſe*, *ſafety* and *prolongation of life*, of ſuch people to whom they immediately relate, they eaſily loſe their name, and may be conſidered as wiſe, prudent, and humane diſpenſations of government. At the ſame time, it muſt be remembered, that where there are rewards, as in the caſe of *bounties*, there muſt be *pecuniary fines* as penalties: both may be ſubject to *abuſes*, but if there are *proper officers* to ſee them executed, a little time will render them *familiar*, and the advantages of them will be rightly *underſtood*.

When I conſider the numerous regulations relating to our commerce, I confeſs, that *ſome* of them appear *improper*; ſome unneceſſarily expenſive, *others* ſo complex, that very few people know exactly how they are to act. Theſe are *evils*, but they may be eaſily remedied. In the mean while, let us rather ſeek it as a *remedy*, than think it an *additional diſeaſe*, to add a further *regulation*, if it can be proved to our ſatisfaction, that our welfare is concerned in it, and that we muſt be gainers in the iſſue.

On the other ſide, ſome commercial laws have loſt their *reputation*, not becauſe they were not wiſely calculated, by the legiſlature, for the end propoſed; or that it is beſt to *drop them*, as ſome imagine; but that from the *delicacy* of our *conſtitution*, and the *virtue* neceſſary to the execution of them, ſuch laws have been *neglected*, and if not upheld by ſome *new law*, they muſt ſink into *oblivion*. — Of this kind, is *the act of the ſecond of Queen Anne, in relation to apprentices*, which from its nature and tendency is a *noble* object for the relief of the *poor*, and the *breeding* up a race of ſeamen; but for want of regulations and proper officers

to

to ſee it executed, it is become a dead letter, of which I will tell you more hereafter.

I have taken it for granted, on the face of this propoſal, that it will be found expedient to give a *bounty* on certain parts of our navigation, with a view to enable ſhips to carry a greater number of hands, but if a maſter does not chuſe to carry ſuch hands as the regulation requires, and deſires, in ſome caſes, to pay a fine for deficiences, it may be beſt to leave it at his option.

In the caſes where I ſuppoſe *no bounty* allowed, as in the *coaſting* and *American trades*, ſome owners of ſhips may really apprehend their *profits* will be affected; but the moſt knowing of them muſt be ſenſible, that where *three pence* is charged as a duty on the leather, the *ſhoe-maker* demands at leaſt *four pence* on the ſhoes; ſo that this propoſal turns in *favor* of the ſhip owner; and yet if this argument is employed *againſt* the propoſal, it proves a great deal too much, for it is againſt all taxes whatever. Things of this kind will work for themſelves; and it can hardly be conceived, with reſpect to our own conſumptions, that the additional expence will be attended with any other conſequence, than a ſmall charge to the conſumer, which he will not feel. — It is very apparent, that no law of this kind can take effect, unleſs ſuch reaſonable *pecuniary fines* are impoſed on the maſter of the ſhip, as that whether he complies, or *wilfully neglects*, or accidentally is in *no capacity* to anſwer the deſign of them, as in the caſe of not finding men, in every inſtance, ſtill to make proviſion for the *main object*, by his *paying the fine*, if he does not *take* the *man*.

To give you a clear idea of my meaning. Suppoſe a *commiſſioner*, or other proper officer, appointed in *London*, to ſee to the execution of this buſineſs; and that the maſter appears before him, and makes oath as follows:

I JOHN STORM *of* WIND-STREET, *in* LONDON, *in the county of Middleſex, maſter of the good* SHIP *or veſſel, called the* NEPTUNE, *belonging to the port of* LONDON,

LONDON, *burthen* TWO HUNDRED *tons, as per meaſurement,* (1) *lying at* TOWER-WHARF, *do ſolemnly make oath, that there are entered, and now actually belong to my ſaid ſhip, including myſelf, my mate,* SERVANTS AND APPRENTICE, SIXTEEN (2) *men and* BOYS, *engaged, and agreed with, by me, and whom I do accordingly intend ſhall go with me as mariners, and perform my voyage to* LISBON, *in my ſaid ſhip.* — *And I do hereby further make oath, that when I proceed on my intended voyage, I will either take with me the ſaid number of* SIXTEEN, *men and boys abovementioned, or pay on my return to Great-Britain or Ireland, at the port where I ſhall land my cargo, or to which I ſhall be bound, to His Majeſty's commiſſioner or agent, appointed for this purpoſe, or where there is no ſuch commiſſioner or agent, to the collector of the cuſtoms, the fine of* FIVE POUNDS *for each man or boy, that ſhall be deficient of the ſaid number of* SIXTEEN, *declared as above.*

Sworn before me, His Majeſty's commiſſioner (3) at *London*, this *tenth day of December*, in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſeven hundred *and fifty eight.*

This ſhould be rendered very familiar by immediate diſpatch, and no gratuity, fee, or reward, taken *at*, or *for*, adminiſtering the oath, further than the coſt of the ſtamp-paper, on which the oath ſhould be written. As to the revenue ariſing from ſuch ſtamps, they will pay part of the expence of the commiſſion. The *commiſſioner*, (or the *agent*, whom I ſhall hereafter mention,) having had the above affidavit of the maſter, duly adminiſtered before him, muſt certify the ſame to the collector of the cuſtoms of the ſame port, in the following words;

To the collector of His Majeſty's cuſtoms in LONDON.

This is to certify, that JOHN STORM, *maſter of the good ſhip or veſſel called the* NEPTUNE, *of* LONDON, *burthen* TWO HUNDRED *tons, has declared before me, in the terms preſcribed by law, that he has on board, and belonging to his ſaid ſhip, agreed to go his voyage to* LISBON, *the number of* SIXTEEN, *men and boys as mariners, including*

cluding himſelf, his mate and apprentice. Office for the care of ſeamen, (4) *this tenth day of* DECEMBER, *in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty* EIGHT.

By virtue of the above certificate delivered to the maſter, he, having duly performed all his other obligations, may be entitled to his clearance at the cuſtom houſe, but not otherwiſe.

(1.) What I have ſaid in regard to *meaſurement*, I leave to be conſidered. The truth is, nothing can be more eaſy than to meaſure a ſhip according to the common rule of ſhip-carpenters, to know the cubical inches ſhe contains, the ſame whether ſhe be loaden or empty.

(2.) I have filled up the blank with *ſixteen*, to give you the ſtronger idea of what is meant, but I ſuppoſe that maſters may carry no more hands than they chuſe, provided they *pay fines*, in the firſt inſtance, for as many as they are deficient. Hence would ariſe *three diſtinctions of fines.*

1ſt. The *voluntary fine* paid down upon the ſpot, when a maſter acknowleged that he was ſhort of the *regulation complement.*

2dly, The *voluntary fine* to be paid at the port where the ſhip lands her cargo on her return home, or where ſhe is bound to, if in ballaſt, in caſe of being actually deficient of the number ſworn to, for which payment a limited time ſhould be granted.

3dly, Fines recovered by information, in conſequence of perjury, and an intention to defraud; theſe fines ſhould not be leſs than 40 *l.* for the fraud, beſides the puniſhment which the law inflicts.

In order to facilitate the execution of this propoſal, the commiſſioner in *London* need not have any *fees*, but the collector of the cuſtoms ſhould have 30 *per cent.* on all fines levied by information. This would enable him to employ the tide-ſurveyor, or other officer, to examine ſhips on their departure, and report,

port, if he found any thing deficient on the oath of the maſter, which the maſter did not *voluntarily* declare, nor chuſe to *acknowledge*.

The *agents*, I ſuppoſe, would do their duty for the ſalaries appointed them, eſpecially if they were checked by the *collector* of the cuſtoms, at the reſpective ports. Such collectors might alſo enjoy 30 *per cent.* on all the fines incurred by a breach of the law. In the mean while, collectors of the cuſtoms, where no *agent* reſides, as an encouragement for them to do their duty, they might be paid 30 *per cent.* on all fines levied by information, and likewiſe 10 *per cent.* on all *voluntary fines*. In ſuch caſe ſuch collectors muſt, from their own proper motion, take the maſter's affidavit, *as is uſual in other caſes*, and alſo ſee that maſters of ſhips do their duty exactly, in the inſtance here recommended. — And, in order that the law ſhall not be *trifled* with, I would give one third part of the amount of the fine levied by information, in caſes of *perjury*, to the informer, due evidence, for conviction, being given.

(3.) The commiſſioner, whom I ſuppoſe to reſide at the port of *London*, ſhould be reſponſible to the *lords of the admiralty*, and his duty muſt be to keep account of *all ſhips* whoſe maſters have been before him; and alſo of the number of the hands they *carried*, or *paid fines for*.—I alſo ſuppoſe *agents* appointed for the principal ports, as *Briſtol*, *Liverpool*, *Newcaſtle*, *Hull*, *Edinburgh*, *Glaſcow*, *Dublin*, and *Cork*; theſe ſhould be accountable for all the certificates given by them to collectors, and all fines recovered by them, and what elſe their duty might require. In the leſſer ports the collectors of the cuſtoms (where it is preſumed this duty may be well performed, without interfering with their other obligations) ſhould execute the office as already obſerved, for which, as you may ſee, I make ſuch proviſion, in order to engage their attention, as the nature of the thing ſeems to require, when we *mean* that a law ſhall be executed.

It is not intended that the maſter, under any circumſtance, ſhall be embarraſſed or obſtructed in proceeding on his voyage, for though his intentions might be ever ſo upright, and his affidavit, with regard to the number of *men* and *boys* on board his ſhip, *ſtrictly true*, on *one* day, an alteration in the humour of his crew

might make a difference the next. As to a *muſter*, if any is required, it may be only to compare the maſter's *affidavit* with the *groſs number* of the *men and boys*, in order for the tide-waiter, or other officer, to make his report to the collector, ſo as to ſerve as a check on the *maſter*, if his oath ſhould unhappily not bind him. This plan will be the more practicable to the *maſter*, for if his crew leaves him, he may get a new *man* or *boy*, or men or boys, without being troubled with any dilatory or vexatious examinations, and it will be always in his power to do juſtice to the *public* on his return home, by paying the fine for any real deficiency which he *could* not avoid, or choſe to pay for, his oath being ſo far *conditional*. And as the amount of the fine would probably be a trifle leſs than the real wages and victuals of the man, he would be a looſer only in the *ſervice* of the man; and it is alſo probable, that *in moſt caſes*, if he muſt *pay* for the man, he would chuſe to have him.

If the amount of the voluntary fines, and that of others levied (the parts given to collectors of the cuſtoms, and informers, excepted) were appropriated to the end of aſſiſting maſters of ſhips with *apprentices* and ſervant-boys, with whom ſuch maſters might navigate their ſhips cheap, and upon eaſy terms, it would neceſſarily give a *ſanction* to the *fines*, and operate ſo well to the great end in view, that it would be *robbing the poor* to with-hold them; or feeding the indigent, and providing young ſeamen at a very cheap rate, when they paid theſe fines.—There might be inſtances in which maſters would prefer to pay a *fine*, rather than take a man or boy *at any extravagant price*, therefore the *removing the* reſtraint in this inſtance, removes the very foundation of all complaint.

I apprehend the *fine* for *European* voyages for a man or boy, ſhould be *leſs* than thoſe to the *other quarters* of the world; *viz.* not more than *five pounds* for the firſt, nor leſs than *ſeven pounds* for the latter. For beſides the diſadvantage of the man or boy being left at home ſo much the longer time, out of pay, when maſters go on diſtant voyages, ſuch maſters could not be called upon for *freſh fines* in the ſame diſtance of time; conſequently, there ſhould be ſo much the ſtronger

er injunction on them, to take their full number of men and boys on ſuch voyages.

Upon the return home, a maſter ſhould not be entitled to a bounty, on the *man* or *boy* he was deficient in, upon his arrival, unleſs ſuch man died abroad, or on the voyage, of which a certificate ſhould be given by his mate, and two of his crew. In caſes of deſertion, in order to be intitled to the bounty, the maſter ſhould be obliged to bring home *another Britiſh man or boy* in the place of the runaway. Under this regulation the ſhip-owner would be benefited, in ſo much as the wages, in *arrears*, amounted to at the time of the deſertion, ſo that ſuch *contingencies, without the bounty*, might as well happen to be in *favor*, as in *diſfavor* of the *ſhip-owner*.

It may be thought, that maſters of ſhips will not do their duty, if left entirely to themſelves. The manner of their *receiving* the *bounty* which may be due *to* them, and of *paying* the *fines* which ſhall be due *from* them, will require attention. *Regiſters*, you know, are objected to, and I do not ſee what end they would anſwer in this caſe; and the propoſal of *repeated muſters* is ſtill leſs reliſhed; and yet there ſeems no other alternative, than either reſting the iſſue on a *muſter*, or an *oath*; and after all, there can be no *abſolute* certainty in either. We have already made our maſter *ſwear*; if he is *not* perjured in the firſt inſtance, he will hardly be ſo in the laſt. If he is obliged to *ſwear* again upon his return *home*, or at the place where he delivers his cargo, in order that he may not *receive* more *bounty* than is his *due*, or *pay* fewer *fines* than he owes to the public, it is no more than he muſt do with relation to his *cargo*. Therefore he ſhould appear within a certain number of days after his arrival, before the *commiſſioner*, *agent*, or *collector*, and make his *declaration* in a form preſcribed, how many *men* and *boys* he *ſwore* to when he ſet out; how many he paid *fines* for, if any; how many he really carried out; and how many he brought home. I fancy this will be a *ſhorter* way, and as *true*, and much leſs *diſpleaſing* to him, than obtaining certificates of *conſuls abroad*; keeping exact *muſter-rolls* and *deſcriptions*, receiving *muſter-maſters* upon *muſter-maſters*, and ſuch regulations, which however proper they may be, under ſome governments,

with

with ſome kinds of people, as far as one can judge, will but ill ſuit the tempers and abilities of our *maſters*, and their *crews*.

Perhaps the novelty of *fines*, in this inſtance, may ſtartle you; but, upon maturer examination you will diſcover, that the general principle is every way conſiſtent and *conſtitutional*, and more peculiarly adapted to things of this ſort. It is often practiſed in caſes of the higheſt importance, where the object is to provide for the common ſafety. In *Jamaica* they pay 13 *l.* currency, a year, which is about *ſixpence* ſterling a day, for every *white man* the planter is deficient in, of *one white* for *twenty blacks*. This anſwers many excellent purpoſes, without creating any ſort of inconvenience, ſince the inhabitants are left entirely at their own choice, to find the *man*, or *pay the money*. And, upon ſome occaſions, they are to find *two* ſuch *white men*, or pay *double fines*.

By the act of the *ſecond* of *Queen Anne*, already quoted, it alſo appears by ſection 8. (*a*) that the *Britiſh legiſlature* thought proper to impoſe a *fine* of *ten pounds* on maſters refuſing to take an apprentice, which is a *caſe in point*. I ſhall explain to you hereafter, how it comes to paſs that this law is neglected; in the mean while you will pleaſe to obſerve, that although I look upon the object of this ſpeculation, to be of higher importance than that of the act above mentioned, yet I never thought of fines of above 5 *l.* and 7 *l.* I would alſo allow a latitude to maſters to navigate with *all men*, or *all boys*, or ſuch proportion of either as they may chuſe, as their different voyages and reſpective humors may lead them; and this latitude being granted, one would hardly think that any man, who has not forſaken all pretenſions to common honeſty, would meditate the means of evading the payment of ſuch fines. — Nor is it eaſy to conceive, that *maſters* would chuſe to pay theſe fines *often*, as they would ſoon diſcover, that he who paid the moſt fines, would be in the leaſt eſteem with the *merchant*; for even ſup-

(*a*) All maſters of ſhips, of 30 tons to 50 tons, ſhall be obliged to take one ſuch apprentice, and *one* more for the next 50 tons, and *one* more for every *hundred* tons, if ſuch ſhip ſhall exceed the burthen of one hundred tons; and ſuch maſter or owner refuſing to take ſuch apprentice, ſhall forfeit *ten pounds*.

ſuppoſing the neglect of the intention of the law raiſed no indignation againſt the man, yet the merchant would certainly give the preference to the ſhip which was in the beſt condition, in regard to the care of property, and *maſters* would *watch* each other, if they were *themſelves well watched.*

In the mean while, the maſter who ſhould take the greateſt number of *apprentices*, would be able to navigate his ſhip cheapeſt; and the *obligation* to go to ſea, with a certain number of hands, would neceſſarily operate to the breeding up ſeamen, and increaſing their numbers, and the whole intention of the legiſlature be thus effectually anſwered.

We muſt not determine raſhly on either ſide of ſo important a queſtion as this. To give up a propoſal ſupinely, merely becauſe we ſee ſome imperfections in it, is like a man's ſhooting himſelf becauſe he is conſcious of a *ſin* or a *folly*. I am not ſo enamoured of my own conceits, but that I wiſh the ſame effect could be brought about by ſome other means than thoſe of *fines*, but as there muſt be ſome kind of *penalty*, *theſe* ſmall pecuniary fines for ſuch purpoſes, are certainly the moſt eligible.

In my reſearches I had the fortune the other day, to meet with a very worthy citizen, and public-ſpirited gentleman, of great experience, who ſuggeſted to me, that if an *abatement in duties*, were made to *every merchant-ſhip* carrying a certain number of *extraordinary hands*, it might anſwer the purpoſe intended. I grant it would render the thing more *ſimple*, and therefore preferable to *fines*; and it ſeems to be *a medium* between doing the thing *effectually*, and *not* doing it *at all*. But I muſt confeſs, I do not comprehend that ſuch a plan can be executed at any *moderate expence to the public*; nor do I conceive, that ſuch an indulgence, without being *inforced* in ſome other manner, and ſtrictly watched in the execution, would be productive of the *end* in view. —I ſhall be glad to be more enlightened in this enquiry, in the mean while, let the *curious* exerciſe their wits, we are all upon a common level of *liberty of thinking*, and the diſcovery of ſuch thoughts ſo apparently for the ſervice of our country, ought never to give offence. FAREWELL. I am, &c.

Obſervations

Obſervations on the oaths to be taken in conſequence of this propoſal.

LETTER XII.

WHEN I conſider *oaths* in a political view, they ſeem to be interwoven with our conſtitution, and neceſſarily ariſing from it; for the *gentleneſs* of our government has made appeals to heaven neceſſary, to ſupply the place of thoſe terrors, with which the civil magiſtrate, or the military officer, is veſted under a *deſpotic rule*; but the depravity of our manners which firſt introduced them, ſtill exiſting, they may be as neceſſary now, as ever they were. If they were adminiſtered with more ſolemnity, it would be a means of reminding men, that there is a *God* to whom they are accountable, though they ſhould not immediately *appeal* to him by word or open act. I cannot think this nation *happy* in regard to the numerous occaſions of ſwearing in a *legal* manner; and ſeeing that oaths are become ſo cheap, the *multiplying of them* is to me, ſome objection to my own ſpeculation. A man had better ſuffer in his *temporal* ſtate, or even ſee his country *reduced* through want of a right *policy*, than *offend his maker*, in ſo high a degree as perjury implies. Beſides, ſwearing falſely, weakens the foundation of all government; a falſe evidence given by an oath, ſeems to be as dangerous in a *free* ſtate, as *tortures* to extort confeſſions, are agreeable to the *ſenſe* and *practice* of *arbitrary* governments.

At the ſame time, it muſt be confeſſed, that the oaths required by this propoſal, are of a nature much leſs ſubject to be violated, and that there is leſs temptation to falſhood, than in many caſes where oaths are adminiſtered. Maſters of ſhips lye under the imputation of being *leſs pious* than the generality of other men; which perhaps is like many other notions, a *vulgar error*. It is true, one cauſe of this opinion is, that the oaths which they take at the *cuſtom-houſe*, relate to certain circumſtances of their cargoes, of which it is hardly poſſible they can be informed. Now this can never be the caſe with regard to the *number of men and boys* whom they have entered on their ſhips, and intend ſhall perform a certain voyage, or have actually been on the voyage. It is undoubtedly their intereſt,

tereſt ſo far as relates to their *eaſe*, and the *ſafety of their lives* to go *well-mann'd*; nor is it probable they will be *perjured* to oblige their *owners*, or that *owners* will enter into any colluſive practices, which will not only hurt their *reputation* with *merchants*, but alſo ſubject their ſhip to ſevere penalties by paying 40 *l.* for every man or boy their ſhip carried, contrary to the clear letter and intention of the law, and the *ſolemn oath* of their maſter.

If we exact oaths of a more *dubious nature* for a purpoſe *leſs important*, ſhall we ſcrupulouſly decline them in a *clear caſe* of greater importance? How imperfect is the ſtate of human affairs!—Surely *liberty* cannot long remain, if *virtue* has taken her flight: and if *vice* pitches her tents amongſt us, *ſlavery* will certainly follow her train. It is, alas, too true, that men rather believe with their *tongues* than their *hearts*, that they are to ſtand or fall for ever by the *truth* of their *words*, and the *juſtice* of their *actions*: but after all, why ſhould it be ſuſpected that a *maſter of a ſhip* will perjure himſelf more than other men, who, by *virtue of oaths*, carry on the great buſineſs of the nation. The deſign is worth a trial at leaſt; few laws of this kind are perfected at once; and you muſt not expect that I can adjuſt the *whole plan* of this proceſs; it requires *experience* in ſeveral branches which I have not. I am content to *club* my ſhare of *ſenſe* and *labor*. *Farewel.*

PART III.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED, IN REGARD TO SEAMEN LEAVING THEIR SHIPS ON ACCOUNT OF THE AUGMENTATION PROPOSED. COMPLAINT OF BADNESS OF TRADE, OF DANGER TO OUR MERCHANT-SHIPS EMPLOYED ABROAD, AND OF SMALL PROFITS ON SHIPPING, ANSWERED. WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THE GENEROSITY OF MERCHANTS.

Objections answered, in regard to ſeamen leaving their ſhips abroad.

LETTER XIII.

THERE are ſome objections made to our plan, which, I apprehend, may be very eaſily removed. When I conſider the deſign before us, whether as calculated to *provide for a number of men who will otherwiſe be in diſtreſs*; or to keep up a greater *ſtanding force of mariners*, at a very ſmall expence to the public; I am not under the leaſt alarm about loſing our men *abroad*, on account of maſters carrying out a few hands more than uſual.

Every *mariner* is ſuppoſed to have a *contract* with his *maſter*, in the manner expreſsly provided for and appointed by law, (*a*) which contract is lodged in the maſter's own hands, not as a *favor* to him, but as *he* muſt give evidence in his *own defence*, if any demand is made on him by his ſailors. The ſeaman cannot then be *legally* left behind in any foreign port; on the contrary, due evidence being given of any ſevere treatment, or unjuſt conduct, on the part of the maſter, he can eaſily have recourſe to the laws of the land. Perhaps there are as many *capricious* and *litigious* ſuits on the part of the *ſailor*, as inſtances of unjuſtifiable behavior on the part of the *maſter*. And ſuppoſing their contract ſhould

(*a*) An act of the ſecond of his preſent majeſty, for the better regulation and government of ſeamen in the merchants ſervice.

ſhould be often *neglected*, or *diſregarded*, I can ſee no reaſon why the man ſhould *run away* the more on account of this *regulation*. In proportion to the additional number of hands on board the ſhip, the work will be lighter than it was before; ſo that it ſeems to be as improbable, that the man will run away on account of there being more men, as that your *domeſtic* will leave your ſervice, becauſe you clothe and feed him well. The danger is, when we depart from the rule of common ſenſe, and expect to engage a man's *affection* and *fidelity*, at the very time that he is ſuffering great hardſhips in our ſervice. This is the *evil*, and we mean to remove it.

With regard to the *maſter*'s conduct towards his *men*, if he is not entitled to the *bounty*, unleſs he brings home an equal number of *Britiſh* ſubjects, as *mariners*, as he carries out, *mortality* excepted, he will be the more on his guard; and I ſuppoſe the bounty to be given in all ſuch trades as *Portugal*, *Spain*, *Italy*, &c. where there is the moſt danger of men's leaving their ſhips. And if a *bounty* is given, for freights to ſuch places, and the maſter not entitled to it on other terms, it will be a means of bringing the men home again, more *effectually* than has been hitherto practiſed. It will become the maſter's *intereſt* to bring home the ſame number of hands as he carried out, though it ſhould not be in his *power* to prevent ſome *deſertion*. It is beyond all diſpute, that in ſeveral *European* trades, ſeamen leave their ſhips *capriciouſly*, and that ſome *maſters* likewiſe, are not always ſo *tender* and *judicious* as they ought to be; but I believe the number of men loſt by this means is not ſo great as is imagined. It muſt be confeſſed, that there is ſo much the greater danger of a man's going into *foreign ſervice*, when his ſhip leaves her port without him; but if he has *no mind* to go into ſuch ſervice, he will eaſily find his way home again; and if he is inclined to leave his own country, it will be difficult to hinder him.

As to the *coaſting trade*, which is the greateſt object, the men *cannot be loſt*; and as to the *Weſt India* trade, maſters are generally in want of hands, and will very gladly bring home as many as they carry out. The ſame in the trade to

America. But if any number of our ſeamen, at the cloſe of the war, could get their bread moſt eaſily in *America*, it would be happy for us that ſo conſiderable a part of the *Britiſh empire* ſhould be ſtrengthened, rather than the whole weakened, by our men's flying for a ſupport into any *foreign* country. You are too well acquainted with the value of thoſe poſſeſſions, to think the worſe of your *mother-country*, if *ſome* of our ſeamen, for I would not have the number large, now employed in the *king's ſhips*, were to take up their habitations in that quarter of the world. In time of war thoſe dominions muſt be always guarded by our *navy*, and conſequently they muſt aſſiſt with a number of men, in ſupport of our *naval power*. Many parts of *America* are *happily ſituated* to annoy the *enemy*; and at all times, the more trade the *American* ſubjects of this crown enjoy, the more powerful will the *Britiſh empire* be, eſpecially if ſuch trade is directed ſo that the produce may chiefly center in the *mother-country*.

Indeed it ſeems to be an idle apprehenſion, that a law of this kind will have any tendency to *weaken* us.—When we talk of the *freedom* of trade, we do not mean that nothing ſhall be thought of except the enriching *individuals*, for that would leave them, *in the iſſue*, to be again *deſpoiled* of their *riches*; but that merchants may *buy* and *ſell* what they pleaſe, and *to*, and *of*, whom they pleaſe; and ſend their ſhips *out*, and bring them *home*, *when*, and in *what manner* is *moſt convenient* to them; but ſtill it muſt be remembered, that *laws* and *regulations* are eſſentially neceſſary to the well-being of commerce, in *every* community; and ſuch laws and regulations do neceſſarily imply ſome *reſtraints*, or they have *no meaning* at all. I am, &c.

Profits

Profits on ſhipping being ſmall, a ſufficient reaſon for a bounty, but does not invalidate the principle on which this propoſal is founded.

LETTER XIV.

YOU have engaged me in a correſpondency of a more *delicate* nature than perhaps you are aware of; or indeed than I imagined myſelf, when I begun it. The deeper we go into it, the more reſearches it ſeems to require. It makes one ſmile, however, to hear the *advocates* on *one ſide* ſay, *we are undone, if we do not provide for our ſeamen after the war is over*; whilſt *others*, granting the general uſefulneſs, and even the neceſſity of accommodating the ſeamen, urge, *that the* DOING *it in the merchants ſervice will* UNDO US. *Ruin* on all ſides is a very uſeful word, but I apprehend, *ſudden deſtruction* will not fall upon us in either caſe. And what is more, it does not appear to me, that we have yet *examined* this *plan*, whether it will be beneficial to us or not. My *ſincere opinion* is, that the neglect of our ſeamen will be highly injurious, if not *deſtructive*, in future wars, and that we may preſerve a great additional number of them in the *merchants-ſervice*, not only to the *benefit* of the *nation in general*, but of the trading part of it in *particular*. We do not all aim at the ſame point, ſome may not be ſenſible of the neceſſity of this meaſure, and as to the *manner* of obtaining the *end*, we muſt expect *diverſity* of opinions. It is a common fault for men to talk themſelves into a *belief* of a thing being *impracticable*, and conſequently, never to try whether it is ſo or not.

We ought always to carry in mind the great evils of *preſſing*, and the efforts which other nations, particularly the *French*, have made, and will probably hereafter make, to eſtabliſh a *reſpectable marine*: theſe are ſubjects of a very high and important nature. There are but few things, for which we may not pay *too dear*, but next to our *eternal* ſalvation is the love of *liberty* and our *country*. It is true, the plain *beaten track* is generally the ſafeſt for *nations*, as well as *private men*, yet the ſame *common ſenſe* which is the beſt guide of human life, often leads us to

change

change our meaſures with *change of circumſtances*, and a new path which *ſeems* to lead to *happineſs*, ought to be preferred to one that *we know* leads to *miſery*.

It ſeems to be very reconcileable to reaſon and experience, that *ſomething* may yet be done to *recommend* our navigation to *other* nations, as well as to *ourſelves*. If it is rendered *better*, and not *dearer* to ſhip-owners, it will certainly be productive of better effects, on the common principles, by which we judge of every thing.

It is beyond all diſpute, that *the act of navigation* is a fortreſs to the Britiſh *naval power*; why may not another *general law*, to render that navigation more *reſpectable*, be an additional *rampart*, eſpecially if it is ſo calculated as not to expoſe us to any inconvenience with regard to *other nations*, but ſimply to promote our own views and intereſt. The greateſt part of our navigation relates merely to *ourſelves*, and that which has the ſtrongeſt connexion with *foreigners*, depends on their *good opinion* of it, which good opinion depends more on our good management to make it *ſafe*, *expeditious*, and *ready at hand*, than on a *ſmall* difference in the charge of it; as I ſhall ſhew preſently. I confeſs that *nothing* is *ſmall* that *injures* navigation, but I deny that *any* injury can happen, if the *indulgence* we aſk of the government, in behalf of ſome parts of it, is granted.

It is an argument of great weight, that the *profit* on our ſhipping is already very low, and the concluſion is natural, that we ſhould not charge our navigation with any *additional* expence. This *ſentence* is ſo far *definitive*. On the other hand, it is equally true, if there is, in any nation under the cope of heaven, an object worthy the attention of a legiſlative power, the navigation belonging to this crown, is an *intereſting object* to the *Britiſh Legiſlature*. It is for our *navigation*, as an eſſential part of our *naval ſtrength*, for which I plead: to *aſſiſt*, *improve*, *extend*, and *enlarge* it, is my aim; and for this purpoſe, I would *gladly* ſee the public engaged in an *annual moderate expence*; for I think it would abundantly *repay itſelf* in almoſt every ſhape, that occurs to the mind of a *good citizen*, or a *political arithmetician*.

Times

Times and circumſtances make eſſential differences in all humin affairs. Our commerce is now burthened with the charge of near 4 *l.* a month for every *able ſeaman's* wages, inſtead of 24 to 26 ſhillings, the ordinary price in time of peace; and freights are proportioned, *viz.* that which uſed to be at *one* ſhilling a foot or upwards, now coſt *two*; and ſugar which was 3 *s.* 6 *d. per* C^wt *homewards*, is now *eight* ſhillings, and yet we enjoy more trade than in the profoundeſt tranquility. I will not ſay we *pay too dear* for this advantage, for all is now at ſtake, and if we do not *humble* our *enemies*, they will *humble us*, and *all will go to wreck*. Our political conduct muſt vary with the *times*, and though experience is the beſt guide, it does not always prevent nations from purſuing of *falſe gain*, in ſome inſtances. Our navigation is the *primary* cauſe that enabled us to make any figure, and this is declined. Perhaps it is unavoidable, but if it happens whilſt we *triumph*, it will probably happen, when peace ſhall put all nations on a *level*. Something then ſeems neceſſary to be done, for our greater preſervation, when that time ſhall come.

The *profits* on our ſhipping are confeſſedly *ſmall*, but not equally ſo in all branches of our trade, nor perhaps ſo ſmall in any, as ſome repreſent them. Private perſons who complain of loſſes on ſhipping, ought not to draw *general* concluſions from their *particular* circumſtances; for this argument might hold againſt *trade* in general, many an *honeſt* man, and ſome *prudent* ones, having been ruined by it. If we conſider this matter maturely, we ſhall find that *private* loſſes on ſhipping, have ariſen like loſſes on other branches of traffic; from the market having been overſtocked, and the price of *building* and *fitting out* ſhips, run up too high, compared with other nations. Loſſes are alſo counted *negatively*, that is, by what is *not gained*, and it may be obſerved, that 50 or 100 *l.* which uſed to be eſteemed a comfortable ſupport, is hardly *thought of in theſe days*; the conſequence of which may eaſily be, that the nation which lives *parcimoniouſly* will advance in their ſhipping, whilſt we are at a ſtand with ours. It is hard to draw any concluſion, for the ſhip which was a *loſing* account in *one perſon's hands*, often proves a *gainful* one in *another's*. In the mean while, *other nations* are growing more *ſkilful* and *induſtrious*, ſo that in a national view, the *ſmaller the profits*

we

we are contented with, the more we ſhall *thrive*. Further, if the gain of *ſhip-owners*, conſidered merely as ſuch, is very *low*, it will like other trades, mend itſelf. If there was no gain, there would be no ſhips, except in the hands of *merchants* to carry their goods abroad, whereas our ſhips are got into quite different hands, and *merchants* for the moſt part, have the leaſt concern in them. This, I apprehend, has not ariſen from the article of *ſeamens wages*, which is our preſent object, but from the merchant finding that the profit centered in the hands of *tradeſmen* and *mechanics*.

There was a time, *in my memory*, when *merchants* prided themſelves in the charming gallies they ſent to ſea; they ſaw and admired them with a lover's eye, and did not reckon on *much gain* on them, merely as a *ſhip-account*;—but thoſe days are gone. A greater number of merchants are now grown rich, and they naturally follow their peculiar traffic; and ſo far as their *diverſions*, out of their *compting-houſe*, or *warehouſe*, are concerned, theſe are of a different kind, and they leave *ſhipping* to another ſet of men, who having it more under their *own eye*, can more eaſily command the profits ariſing from it. Now upon the ſame principle, that it is obſerved, the *gentleman*, or *man of ſtudy*, is generally moſt diſtinguiſhed for *invention* and *improvement*, one can hardly ſuppoſe, that *our navigation* will be thus *improved*. We ought then to be careful, that our *merchant-ſhips* be not worſe *built*, worſe *found*, nor worſe *mann'd*, than is ſtrictly conſiſtent with the great ends of *national policy*. And whilſt we think of *improvement*, we muſt alſo provide for the means of *increaſe*, to which nothing will contribute more, than the increaſe of the number of our *ſeamen*.

If our ſhipping is kept up to a *good* and *true ſtandard*, we may conſider it in one light, as an *advantage*, that it *is* chiefly in the hands of *tradeſmen* and *mechanics*: this will rather *diffuſe* a ſpirit of *induſtry* amongſt greater multitudes; and *more* perſons will become *principals*, and work for themſelves; *and may their induſtry be crowned with riches and honor!* But ſtill, what I inſiſt on is, that a *due regard* muſt be had to *national conſiderations*; for if our *greatneſs*, if not our very *being* as a nation, continually depends on our ability to fit out great fleets, we

muſt

muſt have a conſtant eye to this object; and if in purſuing the *greater good*, we cannot always take in the *leſſer* alſo; it only proves, what we know too well, that there is *nothing perfect* in this mortal ſtate.

Whoever conſiders this ſubject, muſt acknowledge, that all *wanton* and *ſuperfluous* expences in *commerce*, as they are a diminution of the merchants profit, they will conſequently be a diſcouragement to trade; but we muſt not take points for granted, without examining what is moſt profitable *upon the whole*, and moſt ſuitable to us, as a *warlike*, as well as a *commercial* nation. It may appear as a kind of *paradox*, but it is a queſtion, whether a *ſpirit of gain* may not endanger our *navigation* becoming leſs reſpectable than it has been. All human affairs are in a fluctuating ſtate; and as we ſee the ability of acquiring riches, travel from one part of a kingdom to another, and the ſame from one nation to another, *as improvements are made*, ſo it is very natural to conclude, that the more any nation is familiarized to the ſea, the greater advantage they will draw from it. We who are the envy of nations, are nevertheleſs cooped up in a *little iſland*; we muſt therefore have the more *ſea-room*, and the greater number of people employed on the water, ſuitable to the *exigencies* of a *puiſſant ſtate*, confined in a *little* compaſs: this we have *a right* to, in the eyes of the impartial part of mankind, as we might otherwiſe be eaſily conquered by nations, ſo much more numerous than ourſelves; whereas we never pretend to conquer them. We follow the ſame rule of conduct in our mercantile capacity, and ſo far we are all agreed in the common purſuit of *glory* and of *gain*; but as theſe ſometimes *counteract* each other, if the public is not *watchful* we ſhall ſuffer in the iſſue.

If it is objected, that *individuals* are already at *full liberty* to make all the *improvements* they pleaſe, as to the *national* advantage; I *anſwer*, that as an inducement to promote *national* welfare, there muſt be the ſanction of *national* laws. The cheapneſs of every thing ariſes from the *plenty* of it: but that plenty depends on the *induſtry* of individuals; and that *induſtry* on *good laws*, well obſerved. It is not the beating down or raiſing prices on ourſelves, which always anſwers the ends of *national utility*. We have been at *liberty*, in almoſt every reſpect; at

liberty to poiſon the working poor with *ſpirituous* liquors; and at liberty to ſtarve them for want of bread; but we have been *lately*, moſt wiſely checked, by *certain wholeſome laws*. The paſſion of working cheaper than another, for *public good*, is *glorious*; but to drive others out of their bread, or make it *too dear* for them to *live*, is *infamous*. Let *emulation* riſe to the *clouds*, but it muſt mount on the wings of *virtue*.

If the competition of other nations runs ſo high, that our *merchants* or *ſhip-owners*, *cannot*, in certain inſtances, obtain *ſuch* advantages, as will enable them to purſue thoſe meaſures, which are neceſſary for the great ends of *public welfare*, it is very natural to conclude, that *proper aid* muſt be given: and if this is done in affairs of *leſs* importance, it may be expected in thoſe of *greater*. Therefore *Sir*, I hope that ſuch *reſolutions* will be taken, on the head of relief, for *ſmall profits on ſhipping*, as ſhall entirely remove every *reaſonable* objection to the propoſal before us. The requeſt is founded on this great principle, that the ſame cauſe which increaſes the number of our *ſeamen*, will alſo encreaſe the number of our *merchant ſhips*; and that whilſt we keep theſe up to a *juſt ſtandard*, we ſhall extend our *commerce*, and enable ourſelves the more effectually, to ſupport the *charge* and *toils* of war. FAREWELL. I am, &c.

Complaints of the badneſs of foreign trade, not always well grounded; and when juſt, can never be a reaſon againſt this propoſal.

LETTER XV.

EVERY nation has its peculiarities. A *Frenchman* dances and ſings under a government we juſtly call *ſlaviſh*; and an *Engliſhman* confeſſes his liberty, and *grumbles*. Both enjoy a greater ſhare of happineſs than each imagines of the other. But we, who ſeem to be the moſt favored of providence, are not ſo *pious* as we ought to be. Want of *gratitude*, is only another word for want of *virtue*, and muſt therefore be ſo far a diminution of *happineſs*. If there is *pleaſure* in receiving a *kindneſs* at the hands of a *fellow-creature* whom we love

and

and honor, there ſhould be *joy* at receiving *bleſſings* from the hand of God. And ſurely no nation *is more bleſt*, or has more reaſon to be thankful than this. But *freedom* is apt to create an *impatience* under diſappointments; whilſt *plenty* raiſes our deſires beyond reaſon and nature.

To apply theſe remarks to ourſelves, as a *commercial* people: if as *individuals* we fall ſhort of our *ſanguine* deſires of gain, we are apt to *murmur*; but at the ſame time, as a nation, after ſupplying our own wants which are very large, we export every thing that the *fertility* of our iſland, or the great *induſtry* and *ingenuity* of its inhabitants, can produce. Do we ſtill long to *expand* ourſelves and *enlarge* the fields of *induſtry*, and the *knowledge* of *arts*, *agriculture*, and *manufactures*? Let us conſtantly endevor to inſpire the common people with a juſt ſenſe of ſhame, and with an opinion, that to depend on a charitable indulgence of *lazineſs* for a ſupport, is but a remove from *thieving*. In a *country* ſo well peopled as this is, compared with moſt others in the world, where *commerce* affords ſuch *opportunities* of induſtry; where *property* is ſo *ſacred*; and where *freedom ſmiles* in every *cottage*; where gentlemen of *fortune* and *education* are every where to be found; it ſeems to argue a groſs abſurdity in politics, as well as great danger to *morals*, to neglect the providing employment for *old* and *young* that *can* work. *Parental love* and *filial affection* are the great ties of ſocial union and harmony. He that will not work to aſſiſt his parents, and his children, is *abandoned*. Every thing that tends to break theſe ties, tends alſo to the diſſolution of ſociety; and nothing but the *preſervation of life*, *in the infant ſtate*, from the mercileſs hands of *debauched women*, or *ſavage-hearted men*, can, in this *free country*, be a ſufficient reaſon to encourage parents to part with their children; except it be, at a time of life fit for education, in the *ſchools of induſtry*. You have ſeen the great utility of a few *well-regulated working* pariſh *work-houſes*; but I am ſtill conſtant to my opinion, that if theſe ſhould take place, which I much doubt, we ſhall not have the *poor* under any diſcipline, nor avoid an *enormous*, *fruitleſs*, expence, till there is, in each county a *well-ſituated*, *well-built*, and *well-governed county-work-houſe*, which being filled in one county, the *vagabond* or *indigent* perſon may be paſſed on to the *next county*. But there muſt be *claſſes* and *diſtinctions*, and *ſkilful direction* in them,

which muſt be properly paid for, at the ſame time that the whole is overlooked by *men of patriot ſpirits*. Such a meaſure, and ſuch only do I conceive, will remove the cauſe of thoſe murmurs which we ſo often hear.

In the mean while it is obvious, that as a conſequence of the *great augmentation* of our *real wealth*, and of the *indulgences* which are become faſhionable amongſt us, we have run up the prices of things beyond the *meaſure of property*, and this is an *evil*; but in the ſame manner we ſupport *credit* beyond the *meaſure of riches*, which is ſo far a *good*, and counteracts the *evil*. And as national greatneſs is a relative term, when we compare ourſelves with any other people on the face of the whole globe, we find infinite reaſon to pour out our hearts in gratitude to heaven! Whenever you hear any of the *mercantile* part of the nation complain of *want of trade*, you may generally conclude that they forget, that we *could not* continue long to export our produce, if there was not a *demand*; and that there *would not* be a demand, if there was not a *ſale* for it in foreign countries. A few months ſooner or later, we *export*, or *conſume* our *whole produce*; and if ſuch produce was *greater* than it is, there would be a *glut*, and the profits would be ſo much *the leſs*, which is not the thing they deſire to ſee.—The *maſter* of a ſhip alſo complains, that the *freights* to certain places are much too cheap, conſidering the enormous prices he pays, for *ſeamens wages*: he alſo would do well to conſider, that if *ſeamen* were more plenty, *wages* would be *cheaper*, and ſo many *foreign ſhips* would not be employed; and therefore he is under the ſtronger obligation to promote the deſign I am pleading for. And whilſt *individuals* complain that trade is *overdone*; in a national view, we are never afraid that *too many* people will be employed in it. But if thoſe who are employed in *commerce* are qualified by their *ſtrength* and *number* for the offices of *war*, the *increaſe* of trade, and the *means* of defending it, will operate together; and inſtead of *riches* becoming the *cauſe of ruin*, of which the hiſtoryof the world furniſhes numerous inſtances, with regard to other countries, the *ſplendor* of this *nation*, with the *happineſs* of *individuals*, will keep pace with each other.

Whenever

Whenever we think there is *reaſon* to complain, as if providence was not indulgent, let us alſo reflect on the general turn of the people in this *free* trading country. We have often ſeen that the greater the *ſcarcity* is, the more we *prey* on each other. It is upon no worſe principle that *ſeamen* have ſuch high wages, and *commerce* ſo far diſtreſſed in good *earneſt*, at the very time we are moſt anxious to prevent its oppreſſion. Can any thing be ſo intereſting to us as a *naval* power, as a *commercial* nation, as a people who have ſo much to *guard*, as to accommodate our ſeamen in the moſt proper manner, and keep up a much greater number of them than in times paſt? ADIEU! I am, &c.

Britiſh merchant-ſhips employed by foreigners, for foreign account, no reaſon againſt the propoſal.

LETTER XVI.

YOU have ſeen that other nations are now become *carriers* for us, in a greater proportion than in former wars. According to our *plan of employing ſo few hands in our merchant-ſhips*, it is probable we ſhall be loſers in the *long-run*. Suppoſe a *certain* advantage accrues to us, during a *peace of twenty years*, from our being *carriers* for other nations, we ſhould not therefore give an opening to foreigners during a war of *five or ſix years*, to employ *three* or *four times* the proportion that our ſhips are employed for them: if we look back to 1755, and thence to 1757, we find *our ſhips employed*, reduced from 5200, to 3500.

Our profits, as carriers, depend chiefly on the *Portugueſe*, the *Spaniards*, and *Italians*; and we have now the mortification to ſee that the two former are become almoſt *our* only carriers, *to* and *from* their own countries: what is to be expected with regard to *their own trades*? except on ſome particular occaſions, we muſt expect they will prefer their own ſhipping: and if we mean to come-in for a *ſhare* of their buſineſs, as *carriers*, the cheaper we ſail the better. If we add any thing to the charge of our navigation when we ſail for the account of *foreigners*, we ſhall be ſo far in danger of not being employed by them, as that charge is greater than the advantages they derive from our ſhipping, compared with that of

their

their own, or that of other nations. This is granted; but the true reaſon for the preference given to our ſhipping, by *many foreign merchants*, is *not* ſo much from the *cheapneſs*, as may be imagined. Other nations, particularly the *Hollanders*, navigate their ſhips much cheaper; but ours are often made choice of, in preference to theirs. The *Dutch* have *few* hands, and for the ſame reaſon they are more *tedious* in their voyages, take more time in loading their ſhips, and alſo in their *delivery* of cargoes. They *muſt* be *cautious*, for they have not always hands ſufficient to manage their ſails, *ſmall* and *light* as they are; and for the ſame reaſon as their veſſels are *flat-bottomed*, they are often loſt on a *lee-ſhore*, when ours *beat it off*; or they lay ſtill in port, when *ours* go to ſea and make their voyage. In examining this ſubject we are alſo to remember, that no one nation can pretend to make a *monopoly* of the bounties of providence. If *we* make it our *proper buſineſs* to be zealous in ſupport of our *ſuperior naval power*, it is highly probable we ſhall always be *rich enough*, to be *great* and *happy*.

In proportion as our trade is *extenſive*, will our ſhipping be *numerous*, and the more *ready* it is at hand in *foreign ports*, the more it will be *employed*. I have known ſeveral *foreign merchants* in *Portugal* who would never employ any other than *Britiſh ſhips*, and the reaſons they aſſigned for it were very good ones. *Firſt*, that *we pay* our ſeamen better than other nations do; and are under the leſs temptation of making *trading voyages*, with a view to the ſale of *private adventures*, in different ports from that to which the ſhip is bound. *Secondly*, That our maſters are generally the beſt navigators. *Thirdly*, That our ſhips are generally the beſt built, beſt found, and conſequently moſt tight and fit to receive cargoes. *Fourthly*, That we are generally at peace with the *Algerines* and the *Sallee-men*, when ſome other *European* nations are at war with them. *Fifthly*, That our *ſeamen* are the moſt *expert* and *active*, and our ſhips built for *running* as well as *ſtowing*. This may appear to you like *national prejudice*, but in fact we make our voyages quicker than other nations; and we ſhould make them quicker ſtill if our ſhips were *better manned*.

In

In regard to our navigation *abroad*, for the account of foreigners; talk to ſome who were at *Legborn*, fifteen or twenty years ſince, they tell you of 150 ſail of *Britiſh merchant-ſhips* being there at a time. I have known *five hundred Britiſh* ſhips in the *Tagus*, in the courſe of a year: but I much doubt if this will ever happen again; and it does not follow, that any conſiderable part of theſe were employed for *foreign account*. Upon the exacteſt enquiry I can make, it appears that at *Genoa* and *Legborn* not above *twenty* ſail of *Britiſh* ſhips are employed annually, *in time of peace*, for *foreign account*. The reaſon of this is plain; the commerce of *France* went encreaſing daily, and the *French* carried the trade away to their own ports, at the ſame time that other ſtates, of leſs conſideration, improved *their navigation*, whilſt we added nothing to ours. In *Hamburgh* we are ſo cut out, that of *twenty five* to *thirty* ſhips employed annually between that city and this, which take off our tobacco and other commodities, there is not one *Britiſh* ſhip amongſt them. It is true, the exportation of our *woollen manufactures*, ſhipped from the north of *England*, employs four or five ſhips, and our *rice* from *Carolina* is carried thither in our own veſſels. *Liſbon* is the great port for employing *Britiſh ſhips*, and in ſome years, in which corn has been much demanded from *Sicily* and the *Levant*, the number of our ſhips employed has been conſiderable; but it was more for *Britiſh* than for *foreign* account. If one may believe the accounts of *Portugal merchants*, *ſixty* or *eighty Britiſh* ſhips at *Liſbon*, *communibus annis*, in time of peace, including *Oporto* and *Faro*, is the very higheſt number that can be reckoned upon for *foreign account*; and at *Cadiz*, *twenty* at the utmoſt.

With regard to the *national* benefit derived from ſuch ſhips, if we examine ſtrictly in what it conſiſts, we ſhall find the *building* the ſhips, to be the moſt conſiderable, for as to the *returns* made to their mother-country for freights, I do not believe it reaches to 150 *l.* a year, for each ſhip, and this would amount to 18000 *l.* though perhaps it is double the ſum really *returned* by *many* of them; for they often bring their *owners in debt*. The number of ſeamen bred up by this means, is but ſmall, for after being out a few months, the *maſter too often* contrives, that the moſt part of his *Britiſh ſeamen* ſhall leave him. When this happens, it is plain, we give bread to, and enrich other countries, and teach other ſeamen, rather

ther than our own. When a ſhip is laid up for any time, or waits long for her loading, the maſter ſeldom chuſes to keep his crew in pay, and it is more eaſy to take and diſcharge the natives of the country, than his fellow-ſubjects. If we give *two* hands to each ſhip, as extraordinary, and 40 *s.* a month for wages and victualing, and the whole *twelve months* employed, and the men on wages for that time, the whole ſum would be 5760 *l.* If we can *really* employ ſo many of our own people, as ſuch ſhips can carry, we might increaſe our true and proper national ſtrength, and to ſecure the event, give a bounty adequate to this *additional* charge. But if we examine this matter to the bottom, we ſhall find, that *were all* our *merchant ſhips* obliged to take a certain number of hands, *this part* of our navigation would be very little affected by the law propoſed. If the maſter kept all his hands, and obtained proper certificates of His Majeſty's conſuls abroad, at the ports *whence* he ſailed, and *where* arrived, he might be intitled to a *bounty*. But this ſeems to be a *fantaſtic* ſpeculation, for the *maſter* will do as he *pleaſes*, and *juſt as he did before*, only in going out he would *fine* 5 *l.* each, for his *two* men, and this would be a tax of 10 *l.* for *two*, or *three*, or perhaps, for *ſeven* years employment; and if it were ſo, this would never deter the maſter from purſuing his own deſigns. If it is aſked, *why* will you tax *ſuch ſhips* with a charge of 10 *l.* the anſwer is, not becauſe we chuſe it, but becauſe theſe cannot be diſtinguiſhed from others, maſters not always knowing what voyages they ſhall perform; but even theſe 10*l.*, *upon their return home*, after being out at leaſt *two* years on ſuch *European* voyages, for ſuch *foreign* account, might be eaſily returned to the maſter. — Upon the whole, this ſeems to be no real difficulty. I have only to obſerve further, that in this light, there ſeems to be the greater propriety in the propoſal for maſters *to fine*, if they ſhould not *chuſe* to carry out ſo many men as their proportion amounts to.

There is no obſtacle in this affair but may be eaſily ſurmounted, and the *whole* ſo calculated, as to avoid all the *evil*, and produce all the *good* intended. We may contrive at once, to ſupport the additional number of men propoſed, and at the ſame time, render our *navigation* more *reſpectable* in the eyes of *foreigners*. Taking in all the *happy* conſequences of cheriſhing and *ſupporting* our ſeamen, in a better

a better and more effectual manner an augmentation of 10000 men, would multiply, in *fifteen* or *twenty* years, ſo as to give us a command of *twenty thouſand* extraordinary. And ſurely, there is *ſkill* ſufficient in the land, to digeſt a plan of this *kind*; and I hope *money*, *virtue*, and *reſolution* enough, to carry it into *execution*. I am, &c.

The generoſity of the mercantile part of this nation.

LETTER XVII.

YOU are not ignorant of the characters of ſeveral merchants, and charity bids us believe the beſt of all mankind. We are all too apt to accuſe each other of being *intereſted*, not diſtinguiſhing the different *notions of intereſt*. We have now a caſe before us, which ſeems to call for a *cool* and *impartial* judgment, and a heart unbiaſſed by any ſelfiſh conſideration. We know *there are* men, who have ſo great a diſdain of all vicious ſelf-love, as to be regardleſs of death itſelf; whilſt *others*, ſacrifice their *friends*, their *country*, their *religion*, for the ſake of *money*. We are all *called into action*, partly by the force of our *paſſions*; and the deſire of *gain* is ſuppoſed to predominate in the breaſt of a *merchant*. But when we conſider, how nations are enriched by *merchants*; how countries are civilized; how the chain of ſocial union is upheld by *their means*; when they deal *honorably*, we muſt confeſs, that they *well* deſerve the epithet of the "*honorable of the earth*." You ſee what high eſtimation ſome merchants are in *at home*; and it muſt be ſo in commercial countries, where great wealth is always attended with great weight and influence. Much depends alſo on the *good opinion* of *foreigners*: I have had the faireſt opportunities of knowing, in ſeveral parts of the world, with what reſpect *our merchants* are treated. The friendſhip I have alſo experienced, gives me high impreſſions of *them*; and the pleaſures, I have enjoyed in the gratification of my own curioſity, in *different climes*, under *various circumſtances*, fill my mind with the more enlarged *ideas* of their *profeſſion*.

Is it not then highly reaſonable to conclude, that the mercantile part of this nation, will be always ready to advance the true intereſt of their country, and the great ends of national welfare. Every *genuine Britiſh ſubject* engaged in commercial affairs, happy under ſo *juſt*, ſo *free* a government, and amidſt the dreadful devaſtations of war, enjoying ſo many and great bounties from the hand of providence, will be ready to expreſs their gratitude, by a hearty concurrence in whatever ſhall, upon mature deliberation, be thought neceſſary for the public ſafety and happineſs: and I think, even the *candid examination of ſuch a ſubject* as this, will do *honor* to the trading part of this iſland.

We have ſeen, upon every emergent occaſion, that our *merchants* are not only moſt *able*, but moſt *ready* to aſſiſt, and therefore, every indulgence that is conſiſtent with the wiſdom of government, is *eminently* due to them. If it ſhould be in their *province*, to do a thing, which it is hardly poſſible can be done without them, they are entitled to the more attention from the community in general, and muſt not be charged with any *burthen*, as if their *intereſt only* was concerned. Indeed, in all affairs of this kind, the *favor* ought to be thrown into the *commercial* ſcale, as it is moſt likely by this means, that the advantage will again *revert* to the *ſtate*, by the quickeſt revolution. But where the deſign is *demonſtrably* calculated for the *good* of the *whole community*, and for the great concerns of *war*; in which the intereſt of the whole is at ſtake, I take for granted, that no one will heſitate upon a *meaſure* of ſuch *vaſt* importance, and I hope *our merchants*, who are well qualified to judge of this matter, will at length agree upon the *mode* of doing it. ADIEU. I am, &c.

PART

PART IV.

THE DANGER OCCASIONED BY A WANT OF SEAMEN. THE EFFECTS OF PRESSING. THE EFFORTS OF THE FRENCH TO RAISE A MARINE. SEVERAL POLITICAL REASONS FOR AN AUGMENTATION OF OUR NUMBER OF SEAMEN IN TIME OF PEACE. THE SINGULAR ADVANTAGES OF WELL-MANNING OUR MERCHANT-SHIPS, AND THE HAPPY SITUATION OF THIS ISLAND FOR THAT PURPOSE.

The great diſadvantage of being always in diſtreſs for want of ſeamen.

LETTER XVIII.

THAT *neceſſity* is the *mother* of *invention*, is beyond all diſpute. But there is ſome ground for belief, that ſo long as this *happy nation* is in ſuch *high credit*, as to command an annual ſum of *twelve* or *fourteen millions*, to carry on war, ſo long we ſhall decline the *exertion of all the natural means*, in our power, of bringing our wars to a more ſpeedy iſſue. In other words, we ſhall go on in the way of applying *more* to the *arts of gain*, and *leſs* to the *means* of *ſaving money*; and indulge a *voluptuous* habit, rather than a *ſober martial temper*. And ſo long as we can breed up *ſeamen* in *time of war*, and triumph over our enemies, ſo long we may be *tempted* to neglect them, *during peace*.

Another cauſe which has occaſioned our going on in the old way, is obſervation, that whilſt any thing is to be got, i. e. whilſt there is work for *privateers*, theſe alone breed up and employ 12 to 14000 men, as recruits for the *navy*. But we are apt to forget, that all who go to ſea are not ſeamen; and that to prepare a man for a ſea-life, requires *time*. We can but ill afford to ſpend *a whole year in preparation*, and yet we reckon *three years* muſt paſs, before we can *well-mann* our fleets, notwithſtanding this *ſpirit of gain*, at the begining of a war, carries us to ſea in crouds. In this interval, many thouſand *landmen*, and even the *ableſt ſeamen*, harraſſed by long voyages, and the want of time ſufficient for refreſhment in ports, ſuffer

much in their health. It is probable, this would not be the caſe, if ſailors were *plenty*, and if we had men to *relieve* each other, as the nature of their ſituation abſolutely requires; and ſince we cannot *remake human nature*, we are bound to accommodate ourſelves to its *neceſſities*.

It is alſo a common obſervation, that however formidable *France* may be, at the begining of her wars, after ſome years of peace, ſhe *appears* to be much more ſo than ſhe *really* is. This ariſes from her *arbitrary* manner of commanding the lives and fortunes of her ſubjects. This kind of power *blazes* forth, and creates an *alarm*, but the *ſteady* perſeverance of *free* ſubjects, will ſtill give them a ſuperiority. Certain it is, that the *French* have frequently made ſuch havoc amongſt *their* people, as in ſome parts to leave none but *women* to *till* the earth. Let us take care not to fall into a ſimilar error, with reſpect ro the *harraſſment* of our ſeamen. By always living from *hand* to *mouth*, and to the *utmoſt* of our abilities, we occaſion a *continual ſcarcity*: like *bad æconomiſts* in common life, we have much the *leſs* by paying ſo dear. *We expend more men*, becauſe we cannot *relieve our ſeamen*: nay, we are not able, *in time of peace*, to command a few ſailors without diſtreſſing ourſelves. As a proof of this, I recur to your memory, that it was hardly *five* years after the laſt war, that we wanted the ſmall number of 1500 men for *Eaſt India*, and they *could* not be had without *preſſing*; a circumſtance, which if we could trace things through the ways of providence, might be found to give occaſion to the preſent war falling on us ſo ſoon after the laſt; for I am perſuaded, the *French* had no conception of our being able to fit out ſuch a fleet as we did at the begining of 1755. However this might be, the *impreſſing* this ſmall number of men, run up wages in the merchants ſervice, from about 24 to 40*s*. a month, at which price it continued near a year; conſequently the trade was charged, reckoning 30,000 men, employed for *ſix* months, at 16*s*. a month, with 144,000 *l*. extraordinary: and ſuppoſing it coſt us only half this ſum, it was a very heavy and unneceſſary burthen.

If it is urged, that ſeamens wages, in the merchants ſervice, are ſeldom ſo low, as 24*s*. a month, for any length of time, *even in peace*, the argument ſtill turns againſt the falſe policy of not breeding up more of them. In regard to a glut

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at the close of a war, it has been known, that *ordinary ſeamen* might be had for 12 or 15 ſhillings, and even ſome *able ſeamen* have been glad to work, for a time, merely for their *food*, till they could be entered on board merchant-ſhips. Now whether we conſider *the ſituation* of ſeamen during war, or immediately after it; or the *diſtreſs of trade* for want of hands, in time of war; or the whole in one *great view*, it ſeems as if we were *radically* wrong in our management, and that we act, in this reſpect, as little like *merchants* as *warriors*.

The ſame *cauſes* will produce the ſame *effects*. Can we expect to go on proſperouſly on the *preſent plan* of a conſtant *ſcarcity* of ſeamen? I apppeal to *experience*, I appeal to *common ſenſe*, if ſomething is not neceſſary to be done, and if it is not probable, that ſuch a plan as this, or ſomething like it, will in the iſſue become *beneficial* to trade, as well as to the ſupport of war? In order to form the more juſt idea of the ſubject, let us look back and ſee how great a part of time, for a *whole century* paſt, has been ſpent in *broils*; and how *dangerouſly expenſive* our wars have been. Let us conſider farther, how formidable that nation is, which can collect a great force at one campaign, compared with that country which requires *two* or *three* years to make any figure. Slow ſucceſs in war, is apt to ſap the foundations of military power, not only immediately, by the *expence*, and by the *men* that periſh by ſickneſs, but ſo far as ſuch war depends on *commerce*, by its introducing foreigners into a knowledge of her trade and navigation.

We are to conſider, that the number of *foreign* ſhips arrived *in all our ports*, increaſed from 1754 to 1757 incluſive, from 570 to 1430, conſequently this average of four years, has not been leſs than 950. This is an increaſe of near 350 upon the foreign ſhips, mentioned in my Letter VII. to have entered our ports, including a year *before*, a year *in*, and a year *after*, the *laſt* war. Every one muſt ſee the difference between theſe ſhips being *built*, *fitted* out, *repaired*, and *renewed* in the *foreign* ports, to which they belong, and the great wages paid by *us*, to *their men*; and our *building*, *fitting out*, and *ſupporting* our own ſhips and men, for our own trade, which is the great object we always have in view. Various cauſes concur to this end, and every nation *muſt* owe ſomething to *foreigners*; it ſeems

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to be the order of divine providence, in regard to commercial intercourſe, but theſe inconveniencies which *we ſuffer*, muſt be *chiefly* imputed to our want of *ſeamen*, and the exceſſive price of their wages.

If our national parcimony, at the cloſe of the laſt war was ſuch, that of 60,000 men diſcharged in 1748, in leſs than five years after, we could not command *one* in *forty* of them, though it might be ſuppoſed that the King's wages would, at that time, be as good as the merchant's, it ſhould, methinks, inſtruct us to be *wary*. If our men were not ſtrangely diſperſed for want of employment at home, or under ſome other circumſtances very difficult to underſtand, there muſt have been a redundance of ſeamen; and though the *ſudden call* for 1500 might perhaps render them *neceſſary* in a hurry, it could not have run up the price of their wages ſo extravagantly. *Is this a ſituation for a naval power, and a commercial nation?* Amidſt all our ſucceſs in war, what hopes can we entertain of *future glory*, if we do not take charge of this matter? Though the notion of our expending 40,000 men, annually, in war, ſeems to be extravagant, yet we ſhall hardly have ſo many fighting men in the land, at the cloſe of *this war*, as we had at the cloſe of the *laſt*; and if we make no efforts to *ſupport* and *encreaſe* our ſea-force, but through the ſame exceſs of parcimony, purſue the ſame plan as at the end of the laſt war, we may, in ſpite of our preſent ſucceſſes, be again called to arms, much *ſooner* than will be convenient for us. ADIEU. I am, &c.

The great injury to under-writers ariſing from the ill manning our merchant-ſhips, and the various political advantages of augmenting the number of ſeamen.

LETTER XIX.

IN regard to the preſent proportion of manning our ſhips, we are in the medium between the *French* and the *Dutch*; but neither of theſe can be an exact model to us. *We are a naval-power*, the *Dutch have been ſo*. *Frenchmen* are not ſo robuſt as we are, for I reckon in general, *four* of ours are near equal to *five* of theirs, in ſtrength of body. If we thought of nothing but *commerce*, agreeably to the peaceful plan of the *Hollanders*, and had nothing to apprehend from the *French*

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upon their *military ſyſtem*, our whole ſpeculation might be leſs neceſſary; and yet, upon examination we ſhall find, that the *lives* of many *men*, and the *properties* of many *merchants* are loſt by ſhips being ill manned. It is beyond all diſpute, that as a nation we ſhould loſe *fewer* ſhips, if we had *more* hands to preſerve them: When the trial is made, it is probable inſurances will become cheaper; and the fewer ſhips we loſe, the higher our reputation muſt be, over the whole mercantile world. It is a common expreſſion of under-writers, when both the ſhip and men are loſt, to call it *a fair loſs*; when the people are ſaved, and the ſhip and cargo totally loſt, they call it *a dead loſs*. This ſeems to carry with it a diſtinction which relates to *prudence* and the *natural means* of preſerving ſhips, both which are often not underſtood, or neglected. But as boiſterous an element as the ſea is, ſome even of theſe *fair loſſes* are *foul ones*, I fear, with regard to the want of care and precaution on the parts of *owners*, maſters, or ſailors.

I believe we ſhall find that *ſix* in *ſeven* of the ſhips which periſh, it is owing to their being ill *found*, or ill *manned*; and if the account was *fairly* ſtated, it would appear that the value loſt by this means only, may be as much as the charge propoſed will amount to, without taking into the calculation the *important value of lives*——It is well known, that ſhips are often very *badly manned*; that cargoes are loſt for want of hands; that men are drowned, in conſequence of, what ſeamen call, *ſhips running away with them*; or they are fatigued to death by too hard duty, and the labor which many times falls to the ſhare of the *few*, who know what they are about.

Human precautions cannot always ſave ſhips, yet certainly the better prepared we are to cope with the elements, the better our *people*, as well as the *national property* will be preſerved: and the better *manned* a ſhip is, the higher her credit will be.—Why do ſhip-brokers in their advertiſements, mention the *number of hands* on board a ſhip of a certain tonnage, bound to a certain port, and recommend her for a freight to *merchants*, but to convince ſuch *merchants*, and the *ſhipper of goods*, that there are mariners ſufficient to take care of their property?

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The well manning of merchant-ſhips, will certainly induce merchants not only *to trade*, but to *trade* the more *boldly*; and the wages of ſeamen being *cheaper*, from the *number* of them bred, the difference of charge will be made up to the owner of the ſhip, without any prejudice to the merchant.

I do not mean by this reaſoning, to exclude the conſideration of a *bounty*, where it may be wanted; but by natural deductions, to corroborate the force of the general propoſition. I am perſuaded, that let our ſpeculations be what they may, if we mean to take *due care* of our ſeamen, or *increaſe* their number, as the caſe ſtands at preſent, we muſt *pay* for it, in ſome ſhape or other; the cheaper the better, provided we keep *faſt hold* of our object. But to *talk* of the thing without even attempting the experiment, is indeed vain and fruitleſs. I am thoroughly perſuaded, in my own breaſt, that we might keep up a conſtant ſtock of 70, or 80,000 right able ſeamen, for commerce and war, and yet the government not employ above 10, or 12,000, at one time, during peace. To do this the more effectually, I apprehend theſe 10, or 12,000, might be changed 2, or 3,000 a year, the ſame man not to ſerve, as near as could be diſtinguiſhed, above *two* years in *four*, or *three* in *five*. The merchants ſervice may employ, maſters not included, *near* 60,000 *able ſeamen*; and if ſuch a number were bred from their youth, ſeamen would neceſſarily *learn*, and be *contented to live on ſhore ſome part of their time*. Navigation would *increaſe*, by the increaſe of the number of ſeamen; and if an increaſe of ſeamen made wages cheaper, the navigation in general would certainly be rendered cheaper; by the ſame means. This ſeems to be the natural courſe of things, but unleſs the price of labor ſhould fall conſiderably, I would not wiſh that the *ſeaman's wages* ſhould ſuffer any *great diminution* of the ordinary price of it, in time of peace; for if the emoluments of this profeſſion do not exceed *labor on ſhore*, *ſeamanſhip* will hardly thrive.

You are ſenſible that trade is a fluctuating object; and requires great attention how it is conducted; but *ours* always ſtands in need of a very powerful protection, either *actively* or *paſſively*; and if a ſafeguard for it, is not ready at hand, whilſt our thoughts are engroſſed about the improvement of it, we ſhall be ever

ſubject

ſubject to have it raviſhed from us: whereas, if it is *powerfully* ſupported, and rendered effectually inſtrumental to its own defence, the defence of the nation follows in courſe; and whilſt the *merchant* purſues his own gain, he is providing for the immediate protection of his country. And whilſt we are ſo *dependant* on trade, let it but appear that *aid* is neceſſary to the merchant, to counteract any *evil* we labor under, it ought to be preſumed, that ſuch aid will be granted.

The *public* muſt not be injured by the neglect of ſuch laws, as our natural ſtrength in a great meaſure depends on. If the laws already in being are ineffectual, which ſeems to be the caſe, ſome *new* regulation ſhould take place, to correct what experience teaches to be amiſs, and add what is further neceſſary. The want of a ſufficient number of mariners, to put us in a condition to act at once with full vigor againſt an enemy, at the breaking out of a war, is, perhaps, the ſecret cauſe why our former wars have been *tedious* in the deciſion of them; and conſequently ſo *exceedingly expenſive*, that our very ſucceſs has been attended with ſome dangerous conſequences: it poizes us, as it were, on a *point*, and we drive things too near the confines of *perdition*. It is ſeldom denied, that *twelve* millions ſpent in *one* year, will bid fairer for ſucceſs than *ſixteen* millions in *two*; an annual expence of *eight* millions being hardly ſufficient to enable us to keep on the defenſive: for the ſame reaſon, 70 or 80,000 ſeamen might do more in one year, than 40,000 in three years; we *cannot* act as we would, at leaſt not on the *water*, which is the *important ſcene*, merely *for want of mariners*. If then a ſupply of ſeamen is ſo great an object to us, were the remedy yet more difficult to get at than it is, we ſhould, notwithſtanding, chuſe the *leaſt evil*; remembering, that what may appear at firſt view as a *burthen on trade*, may prove the only *ſolid baſis* on which we can ſupport the *commerce* of theſe kingdoms, againſt the *ſhocks* and *viciſſitudes* of time. FAREWELL. I am, &c.

The efforts of the French to raiſe a marine, and of other nations to encreaſe their trade. The neceſſity ariſing from thence for us to entertain a greater number of ſeamen.

LETTER XX.

I HAVE examined *your plan* very carefully. I think you may be aſſured, that it is more *expenſive* than will be reliſhed; and requires more *ſteadineſs* and *conſtancy* in ſeamen, than they happen to be maſters of. Theſe are the miſtakes which moſt of our ſpeculators on the ſubject fall into; however, I deſire you will *think again*, we muſt not *give up* a point of this kind, becauſe we cannot hit upon it *immediately*: the neceſſity of doing ſomething is every day more and more obvious. It has been often remarked, that as ſoon as our wars are ended, we act as if we were *never* to be in war again. I do not ſuppoſe this will be the caſe when the *preſent* quarrel is decided; but there is no way of preventing it more effectually than by taking care of our ſeamen. *My religion* leads me to believe in a *particular*, as well as in a *general providence*; and if we may preſume to gueſs *when* it is *heaven* interpoſes, in that way by which is meant a *particular providence*, we may aſcribe the *events* of the *preſent war*, to *ſuch interpoſition*. This opinion will make us act with conſiſtency, whilſt it adds reſolution to the *heart*, and ſtrengthens the *arm* of a *chriſtian ſoldier*, more than the doctrine of *predeſtination*.

But to argue only as a *politician*, is there not the greateſt reaſon to believe, as mankind depart from that ſimplicity which leads them to be contented with *few things*, the ſea will become more and more familiar to all nations who have coaſts and ſea-ports? — We ſee, very plainly, that when they can *gain* any thing, they are *ready to put to ſea*, and that a great ſpirit prevails through ſome parts of *Europe*, which are but *young* in this kind of knowledge, for the improvement of *trade* and *navigation*, and conſequently for the increaſe of *naval ſtrength*. We may ſafely pronounce, that had it not been for the *act of navigation*, the *ſhipping* belonging to our merchants, and conſequently our *marine force in general*, had been at this time very ſhort of what it is; and hence we are taught, that the

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great object of our *politics*, is to take all the advantages we can of our *own ſituation*. If by the improvements of other countries, our ſhipping muſt neceſſarily ſuffer in ſeveral inſtances, ought we not to enact ſome other law, which cannot give umbrage to other nations, and yet will put us in ſuch a way of availing ourſelves of our natural advantages, as may render us ſo much the more *independent*? I think a *plan* may be chalked out, calculated to *ſupport* our ſtrength and *opulence*, in the ſame manner as the *act of navigation* is contrived, more immediately, for the *acquiſition* of riches. We have learnt from long experience, the cruel neceſſity of *forcing* the ſubject to ſerve at ſea, and that even with this compulſion, much time muſt paſs before we can make a vigorous impreſſion on the enemy.—In the mean while, we find the *French* ever aſpiring at a *navy* ſuperior to ours; and the age of man is hardly paſt, ſince they met us at ſea, in full array, to *conteſt* the *dominion* of it. If we alſo look back, we ſhall ſee the great progreſs made by that nation in the ſhort ſpace of time, from the finiſhing of the *laſt*, to the commencement of the *preſent* war. Their number of line of battle-ſhips, was already become *formidable*. You know they equipped *twenty-five ſail of the line* at *Breſt*, with ſo much expedition, that they might have got the ſtart of us in *America*. It is hard to ſay, what the *event* might have been, had they proceeded with the whole force they had ready, in the begining of 1755. We muſt alſo carry it partly to the account of *want of ſeamen*, that our fleets were not more early, and more numerous, *in other parts*, where we might have annoyed the enemy, or defended ourſelves. The thoughts *you* have ſent me on the importance of the *American* dominions, quadrate entirely with my own; and I believe you will join with *me*, that the *French* during the laſt peace, left no means untried to augment their *marine*, more with a view to act offenſively in that quarter of the world, where they had *leaſt* ſtrength, than from any thing they had to fear, with regard to *our* ſeeking occaſion to quarrel, for they certainly did not think, we had reſolution enough to reſent their conduct at *Tobago*, or *St. Vincent*, in *Eaſt India*, or at the *Ohio*.

As to the abilities of the *French* to cope with us, we know they can do great things, when they exert themſelves; and we are to reflect, that we might have had *other naval powers* to contend with. It is ſaid, that they had 103,000 ſeamen

actually regiſtered, when the preſent war broke out: what part of theſe were ſuch as *we* ſhould call *ſeamen*, it is not neceſſary to enquire; if *ours* were not the *beſt men*, I ſuppoſe they would have *beaten* us. But when one conſiders the extent of their *Weſt India* trade, in time of peace; their immenſe fiſhery, if divine Providence ſhould allot it to them, with their great *Turkey* trade; alſo the double *manning* of their merchant-ſhips, and changing hands; we muſt not be ſurprized that the number was large. We may form ſome judgment of it from the great number of their ſeamen *we* have taken *priſoners*, and who are yet in *England*, with thoſe who have died in their own ſervice, not to mention the ſailors with whom they yet equip ſome of their ſhips. As a proof how aſſiduous they are, I can tell you one anecdote, worth your attention. There is no *Martinico* man goes out, but takes *two* landmen to *eight* ſeamen, theſe landmen are paid *ten livres* a month, and as every ſhip of 300 tons has near 30 men, conſequently there are *ſix* men added to their *marine*. Thus if the tonnage of their trade, were only reckoned at 400,000, and the ſame method purſued in all their ſhips, and a ſeaman bred in *two* years, there would be an accumulation in *ten* years of 40,000 men, and allowing for *mortality*, it may be computed, at near 30,000. They have a further regulation, which acts both for the *increaſe* of ſeamen, and the *preſervation* of them, for in time of peace they keep them *twelve* months at home, to *ſix* months at ſea. Let us not then fondly imagine, we have *nothing* to do, *in time of peace*, but to *eat* and *drink*, leſt it ſhould fall out, that *to-morrow we may ſuffer political death* in the deprivation of thoſe good things, with which heaven has bleſt us.

In proportion as we increaſe in *commerce*, we become the *envy* of other nations: they almoſt own it in ſo many words; and if our *national ſtrength* does not keep pace with our *riches*, we may become a *prey* to our own *gain*. Upon the whole, we had better be *rich* and *ſtrong*, than more *opulent* with *leſs ſtrength*, ſince it is plain, the deciſion is ultimately reſerved to the *longeſt ſword*. As a nation, we deſire to be *ſafe* and *happy*, and *prepared* for ſuch events as muſt happen, either from the *ambition*, or from the *avarice* of mankind, and particularly from our *neighbor-nation*: in both caſes we may eaſily trace out, that the very cauſe of the *increaſe* of our *riches*, will *create wars*. It is not ſufficient to be ſtrong in every

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thing elſe; if we want *fighting ſeamen*, our *ſtrength* in the day of *trouble*, may prove to be *weakneſs*, in more ſenſes than one.

We may frighten ourſelves with a notion of *difficulties*, but it ought to be conſidered as a *vital principle*, from which the ſubjects of a *free ſtate* ſhould *never* depart; that *nothing* which immediately regards the *ſafety* and *happineſs* of their *country* and *government*, is too great to be *attempted*; and that whatever *evils*, vice and folly may have introduced, virtue and underſtanding, can again rectify: but it muſt be done in the way moſt conſiſtent with the genius of the people, and the conſtitution of their country. Thank God, we at length ſee this propoſition verified every day; and *wiſdom* and *integrity* are ſurely the foundation of happineſs in all ſocieties. We have no reaſon to *deſpair* of putting our *marine* upon a proper footing, that our common ſailors may act with the ſame alacrity in *going* on board our ſhips of war, as they behave in the day of battle, with an intrepidity which has never been exceeded by any people in the world.

When I think of *ſeamen*, and *national* capacity for war, I think alſo of *widows* and *orphans*. We may ſave a great effuſion of blood, by being on the watch, and always in a *good capacity* of defending ourſelves: and as we are wiſe enough to be contented with being *happy*, and do not aſpire at *conqueſt*, *war* can be neceſſary only to curb our *vices*. We are ſo fond of *this iſland*, and thoſe its dependencies, which our blood and treaſure have won in former wars, we ſeemed to be in no diſpoſition to diſturb our neighbors, if they would be quiet, and not *prepare* or *meditate* any thing againſt us. But we have good reaſon to believe, that when peace is reſtored, the *fertile invention* of the *French*, will be employed in various *projects* to eſtabliſh a formidable *marine*; and perhaps they will ſacrifice more to this object, than we are aware of. We know it is next to *impoſſible*, they can become our *hearty friends*; and we may be ſure that every neglect of ours, will be taken all poſſible advantage of. If they ſuſtain any great loſs in this war, it will make them very quick ſighted, to avail themſelves of every *falſe ſtep* which we may take, *particularly with regard to our ſeamen*. FAREWELL. I am, &c.

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The bad effects of the neceſſary cuſtom of preſſing.

LETTER XXI.

AMONG the many letters I have written to you, in regard to an *augmentation of ſeamen in the merchants-ſervice*, I have not yet inſiſted on the moſt material reaſon for it. What your *opinion* or mine will avail, were it ſubmitted to *public* examination, I cannot tell; but this I know, that where *alteratives* are neceſſary for the cure of any malady in the natural body, it is no argument of *ſkill* in the *phyſician* to oppoſe a method of cure, if on the *one* ſide it promiſes relief to the patient, and, on the other, is not dangerous in the trial. Upon the *ſame principle*, as we ſee an *urgent neceſſity* for ſome change in the *manner* of manning our *navy*, or taking care of *ſeamen* after a war is ended, or in breeding up more *young mariners*, methinks an experiment ought to be *made*, and I hope it will be a *fair one*.—— But we often ſeek for bodily remedies, where the diſtemper is in the mind; ſo we have been looking for a remedy againſt *preſſing*, without conſidering that nothing can prevent it, in time of war, without a ſuitable encreaſe of ſeamen. If their number was augmented, the men being *well fed*, *properly paid*, and *properly treated*, it is to be hoped we ſhould reduce *preſſing* into a *narrower compaſs*, if we did not render it totally *unneceſſary*. But we ſeem hitherto to have miſtaken the right method of removing this political diſeaſe, till at length we only complain of its *effects*, and *not* of *our* own want of *reſolution* to enter upon a *regimen* for the cure of it. Phyſicians ſometimes tell us, that a *fever* is no diſeaſe, and *doctors* ſay that *preſſing* is *legal*, or an undoubted prerogative of the crown. I do not diſpute either, but as I am convinced, that men frequently *die* of *fevers*, ſo I think the *conſtitution* of this country may, in proceſs of time, if our wars are frequent, be much impaired by *preſſing*: and, unleſs a change of cuſtom takes place, it is impoſſible to carry on our wars without preſſing. The queſtion is, if the repugnance of our ſeamen to the *ſervice* may not be alleviated, if they were allowed ſome indulgence, upon their return from their voyages, and not be ſubject to come to their poſt till after being a certain time

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on ſhore, if any proper ſecurity could be obtained, which they might forfeit if they did not appear?

The *compulſion* on *individuals*, without which the *whole community* may become a *prey*, ſeems to be *neceſſary*; yet it implies a very *hard neceſſity*, and requires refinements, which common people are very unwilling to *underſtand*. It is vulgarly ſaid, that *neceſſity has no law*; I ſuppoſe this *adage* means, that neceſſity is *above* law; but this ſenſe may not be true, in the preſent caſe, for *cuſtom* in neceſſary caſes conſtitutes a *law*, and yet, in proportion as ſuch cuſtom prevails, the ſpirits of free-born ſubjects will be alarmed: and for the ſame reaſon, they ought to *embrace* the moſt plauſible means to remove the cauſe of ſuch alarm, and render it *unneceſſary*. Every honeſt man in the three kingdoms, is of the ſame opinion, for we all wiſh *preſſing* could be avoided.

The ſubmitting to the deprivation of a *part*, rather than run the utmoſt hazard of the *whole*, muſt be conſidered by every man in his right mind, as the *leaſt* of two evils; and we never preſs but from *neceſſity*: but whilſt we talk of *preſſing* as an evil, we *go on* in one ſenſe, amazingly *well*, and to all appearance, in ſuch a manner, that we fear no *immediate* bad conſequences from it, which ſeems to be a proof that our common people have more virtue than is generally aſcribed to them. Preſſing is *attended* with ſome unhappy circumſtances, the conſideration of which brings to my mind, the remark of a great ſtateſman, of ſome kinds of power, it ſeems to "cut down the *tree* in order to get at the *fruit*."

Certainly, it ſhould be a fundamental maxim *with us*, to encourage people, by every *poſſible* means, to go to ſea *voluntarily*; but the practice of *preſſing* for the *royal navy*, has a quite contrary effect: it creates ſuch an indifference in the mind of the common ſailor, inſtead of *offering* his ſervice, he too often oppoſes the authority which his *duty*, in time of danger, calls on him to defend. In the mean while, the humanity of the nation is ſo much wounded, that there is nothing ſo difficult, but it ought to be attempted to *aboliſh* this cuſtom. And whatever we

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can do to ſupercede the *neceſſity* of it, or to render it *indiſpenſable* in *fewer inſtances*, ought to be eſteemed by us, as a *treaſure* of very high value.

It is not enough that this has been the caſe in all our laſt wars. Great lenity and indulgence have been ſhewn by the crown, during the preſent war, which in many inſtances have operated happily: but ſtill the real malady will remain incurable in all its ſymptoms, till ſome *new law*, or *new regulation* takes place, by which the number of our ſeamen ſhall be conſiderably augmented. As to the ſpeculations which have no regard to an encreaſe, they ſeem to be ſo many *political refinements*, which are extremely well intended, but will never anſwer any other purpoſe than to *amuſe* us. An *active*, efficacious purſuit of the *means*, which are *beſt* calculated to breed up a number of men to the ſea, will at once give proof of the *good ſenſe* of the nation, as well as of their ſpirit of *liberty*, of which we are always ſo *watchful*, and *for* which, upon the leaſt approach of danger, we ſtand on *our guard*. But if we make a *law*, and at the ſame time know, we cannot avoid a violation of it, we ſhall depreciate the authority, by which the law is enacted, and bring on a great *additional evil*.

To relate to you what I have heard and ſeen of *preſſing*, would be *ungrateful*, and is not *neceſſary*. We all know that our *military operations*, as well as our *commercial* concerns, are often involved in great difficulties on account of it. Whilſt we ſhould be acting with *vigor* againſt our *enemies*, we muſt take great pains to get at our *friends*, and what is more, we muſt ſometimes *diſtreſs* them too, before they will do *their duty*, though they are paid for it. No one diſputes that our navigation ſuffers; and though numbers of foreigners are called-in to help navigate our merchant-ſhips; though our *landmen* are employed in conſiderable numbers to mann both the *King*'s, and the *merchants* ſhips; yet ſtill a free national growth of *ſeamen* being wanting, we are ever in great need. Though the expence of raiſing theſe *preſſed* men is as large as the calamities which many bring on themſelves, by their *repugnance* to ſerve in the *royal navy*, are great, yet a conſiderable part of our navigation, with regard to the carriage of our own goods,

falls

falls into the *hands of other nations*, out of which it will be, *every war*, more difficult to recover it. This will appear to you clearly, when you enter upon the examination of *real facts*. I am, &c.

Several political reaſons for an augmentation of the number of our ſeamen in time of peace.

LETTER XXII.

EVERY intelligent merchant, as well as able politician, muſt be ſenſible of the *neceſſity* of increaſing the ordinary number of our *ſeamen*, though it ſhould be moſt practicable by the means I have propoſed. There is a *meaſure in all things*. The world has ſeen, in theſe days, that an eager deſire of gain does not always produce thoſe happy effects which individuals are apt to imagine: *they* may live in *ſplendor* when a *ſtate*, though it was once renowned in arms, may diſſolve into a *mere name*, or hardly to be rouſed by any ſenſe of a dangerous dependency. It is certain the breeding up more ſeamen will be for the glory and intereſt of *our ſtate*; and whatever is truly advantageous to the public welfare, muſt be beneficial to *commerce*. *Our trade* is the great ſource whence the riches flow, which are to ſupport *war*; and whatever is *hurtful* to either muſt, upon the ſame principle, be *injurious* to both.

It is granted, that the ſureſt way of *encreaſing* the number of our *ſeamen*, is to encreaſe our *navigation*. But, in the mean while, for the ſame reaſon that we ſee what great things can be done, from *neceſſity*, *in time of war*, after exerting ourſelves for *two* or *three* years, may we not reaſonably conclude, that *ſome proper efforts* may be made from *choice*, and during peace, to put the ſtate in the better condition to *prevent* war, or to *conduct* it with *vigor*, when it is unavoidable? If this *can* be done in a *regular* manner, without creating the leaſt diſtreſs to *ſeafaring*, or any other ſubjects, it will be a great point gained: and if it *cannot* be done in the *whole*, we may preſume it is *practicable* in *part*.

We cannot conſiſtently *force* trade, ſo as to employ a greater number of *ſhips*, we muſt therefore uſe the beſt means in our power, and employ *hands*, with the *other advantages* we enjoy. The *uſing* ſuch advantages will probably *ſtrengthen* them, and may produce the ſame effect as *encreaſing* our ſhipping.

A man of *induſtry* and *ſkill*, will make a *dozen* acres of land produce more than his neighbor who has forty acres, if ſuch neighbor is *lazy* or *ignorant*, or walks in the paths of his fathers, without conſidering that his land is in danger of being *exhauſted*, and that *twenty* other perſons in his neighborhood, who were uſed to ſupport themſelves by *feeding their flocks*, now apply themſelves to *agriculture*. And if the winds and rains deſcend and deſtroy his *crop*; if his fields require the tillage of ſome years to come, before they will produce *another*, ſhould we not think that he had been, by his *negligence*, the author of his own misfortunes? This may well be our caſe in regard to ſeamen. For my part, I am convinced that the increaſing the number of ſeamen in this iſland, though it ſhould be by means, which may appear in ſome degree *artificial*, will produce a conſiderable encreaſe of our *ſhipping*, and at length convert that into a *natural courſe*, which at firſt took its riſe from mere *ſkill* and *labor*. It is frequently difficult to diſtinguiſh between what *nature* gives, and what is the produce of *art*, for nature ſometimes acts but as a handmaid to *cuſtom*: whatever we are habituated to appears *natural*, and men are eaſily led to think that is *beſt* to which they have been long *accuſtomed*.

To drop theſe nice diſtinctions, ſuppoſe we ſet the additional number of ſeamen, *to be employed*, at 12,000, to 15,000, their influence will be ſoon extended; many of them will breed up their children to a *ſea-life*; our ſhips will change their hands ſo much the oftener; and as our people get *knowledge*, and more *taſte* for the *ſea*, this will *naturally* produce an encreaſe beyond the common proportion; that is, 50,000 ſeamen will ſooner add 5000 more, than 40,000 will create an acquiſition of 4000 more. And it is eaſy to conceive, that an *iſland*, ſurrounded with *ports*, might by a ſea-faring life being rendered leſs *laborious*

than

than before, induce its inhabitants to familiarize themſelves more to it, and multiply their *numbers* conſiderably, eſpecially as they would have ſo much the fairer chance of chuſing their *ſeaſons* and *voyages*, as their *inclinations*, or *neceſſities*, might lead them.

Time only can evince the truth of a propoſition of this kind. It muſt be obvious to the loweſt capacity, that if the *ſtate* requires of me to lay out 40 *s.* with a view to the ſafety of *my perſon*, the preſervation of *my ſhip*, in which I am embarked, the greater care of my *cargo*, and the relief of *my crew*, in the ſevere duties of a winter's voyage; and alſo to breed up *men* to convoy *my ſhips and cargoes, and fight for the defence of them, in time of war*; and after all this, repays me the 40 *s.* or near the ſame ſum, I muſt be a *gainer*.—This ſeems to be the ſtate of *my propoſal*, ſo far as relates to ſuch branches where *foreigners* can interfere with us.

There is a further reaſon which immediately affects *merchants* and *ſhip-owners*, who wiſh to ſee their *private views* adminiſter to the *public good*. If the *expence* of navigation is put on a more *equal* footing, as to the obligation of carrying a *certain number of men*, there will be a more equal advantage to individuals: and we may *conſtantly obſerve*, that it is not the riches of the *few*, but the comfortable ſupport of *the many*, which gives *power* and *energy* to a *ſtate*. If every one gains a little, every one will be for extending our navigation. — It may be further obſerved, that for the ſame reaſon that *ſmuggling* injures the *fair trader*, the *miſer*, in fitting out his ſhip, injures the *fair ſhip-owner*; and the leſs the *navigation* is to be depended on, the leſs the *merchant* will be encouraged to trade. — Nor do theſe *general* principles make any change in the circumſtances of the *place* where ſhips are built, or in the *ſkill* or *attention* of the owner, or maſter, how to employ them when built, though I grant the ſucceſs of *private* perſons often depends on theſe diſtinctions. FAREWELL. I am, &c.

The peculiar happineſs of our ſituation for breeding up ſeamen, and the earneſt deſire of the people for the improvement of naval affairs.

LETTER XXIII.

WHEN we reflect on the *happineſs* of our *ſituation*, and the value of our *diſtant poſſeſſions*, with our *colliers* and *coaſting-trade*, we muſt offer up our *thanks* to heaven! Not *Peru* nor *Mexico* are of ſo great value to the *Spaniards*, nor the mines of *Brazil* to *Portugal*, as his Majeſty's *American* dominions, are to the crown of theſe realms, conſidered as a means of *breeding up mariners*.

Seamanſhip, and *bravery at ſea*, are indeed our peculiar province, ariſing from our *inſular ſituation*, in the ſame manner as a frontier on the continent generally produces the beſt *ſoldiers*: but *trade* and *fiſheries* can only enable us to *mann* great fleets upon emergencies. No nation can be ſo happy as ourſelves, with regard to a *naval power*, if we are attentive to our *own advantages*, becauſe no nation on the face of the globe has ſuch extenſive dominions, at a diſtance from the ſeat of empire, not plentiful in *gold* nor *ſilver mines*, but well peopled with *inhabitants*, whoſe *genius* leads them to *commerce*; whoſe *lands* are *fertile*; and who actually carry on an *extenſive trade*. And for the ſame reaſon that theſe countries are at a diſtance, there muſt be the *means* provided for their *defence*, or they will be the more ſubject to be loſt; and theſe *means* ſhould *ariſe from*, and *be*, as much as poſſible, *within* themſelves, rendering their connexions, with their mother-country, tributary to their mutual happineſs and preſervation. I have been long convinced that His Majeſty's *American* dominions, and *Weſt India* colonies, are not only ſuch rich jewels, that the crown of theſe realms could not long retain any *luſtre* without them: deprived of them, we ſhould find inſuperable difficulties in preſerving ourſelves long, *in this iſland*, unleſs by a deprivation of our trade, we become *not worth an attack*. Many evils creep into ſociety during the tumults of war, but if our *American* fellow-ſubjects ſhould carry on a clandeſtine

clandeſtine commerce, by receiving of *foreign* ſhips, we are *ſpilling* our blood, and *waſting* our treaſure, for the *ſervice* of *ſtrangers*, not *for our own good*, nor for the ſupport of our own *ſtrength* and *opulence*.

Is this painting in too *glaring* colours? — I grant that we ſtood many *ſhocks* when theſe connexions did not exiſt, but then our competitors had not the ſame power, nor the ſame means of acquiring riches as they lately had, and which we may not be able totally to prevent. I will ſubſcribe with my whole heart, to provide as *tenderly* as poſſible, for every, the *minuteſt* part of our trade, where *foreigners* can come in competition with us; but where there is *ſo ſtrong*, *ſo happy a barrier*, that they cannot paſs it, I am for taking *advantage* of this *good fortune*; and provide *in good earneſt* for the ſecurity of this *barrier*, with a jealous eye to the honor and preſervation of our *natural ſtrength*. And in proſecuting this plan, there will be no difficulty in making the ſeveral intereſts of the *lord* and *gentleman* of eſtate, the *merchant* and the *ſhip-owner*, the *ſeaman* and the *friendleſs boy*, coincide with each other. In the mean while, the public may reap many and great advantages *immediately*, and *greater* ſtill in *future times*, when it ſhall pleaſe the *Almighty* to call us again *to arms*.—But if *no ſteps* are taken, we may, in ſpite of our ſucceſs, be in a ſtate as much worſe than that we were in at the begining of this war, as *fourteen*, or *four and twenty years*, may *bring us back* more than we were brought, in *ſeven*: and at the commencement of the preſent war, the equipment of a fleet with ſuch diſpatch, was looked upon almoſt as a *miracle*.

With regard to our own *proper trade*, in which no foreigner can interpoſe, the other branches being provided for, I apprehend that nothing can be more demonſtrable than this, if our *imports* come home to us 8 or 10 *s.* in 100 *l.* dearer, by means of an *additional freight*, or by the *expence* of a *public bounty*, it will hardly be perceived: in the general view it is but one object, and it muſt fall chiefly on the *rich*. If we compare this inconvenience, with the *ſecurity of their riches*, and their happineſs in general, they muſt be gainers by the contract.

As to our *exports* to the *colonies*, belonging to this crown, it muſt be obvious, that ſo long as theſe colonies are ſupplied by ourſelves, as they certainly will be,

except

except we are extremely negligent of our own intereſt, it muſt be a benefit *on the whole*, if they pay 10*s.* in 100*l.* more than at preſent, upon *their conſumptions* of *our produce*, whilſt *we* pay the ſame upon *theirs*. And it is the moſt ſtriking argument in favor of my propoſal, that his Majeſty's dominions abroad, with our coaſting trade, conſtitute the bulk of the navigation and traffic of theſe kingdoms. If this *navigation* cannot be carried on in any other than our *own bottoms*, the *conſumer* muſt *neceſſarily* pay the *extraordinary freight* without any bad conſequence. In the mean while, the additional number of people employed, will *augment* the *conſumption*, which will again increaſe trade and navigation, to the benefit of individuals, and a great revenue to the crown, will again revert from ſuch conſumption.

If the fair queſtion was put to the good people of *Great-Britain*, " *Will you add* " *to the forty millions* (*a*) *value, you annually conſume, the charge of maintaining* " 12,000 *men*, (*ſuppoſing them employed eight months in the year*,) *at* 40*s. a month* " *expence for wages and victuals, in the merchants-ſervice? It will coſt you near* " 200,000*l. which will be* 2*l.* 10*s. on* 500*l. additional charge to you; but will you; is it* " *your pleaſure, to entertain this number of brave fellows extraordinary, at this trifling* " *charge? I need not tell you, they are always glad when they have an opportunity of* " *ſhedding their blood in your defence: but if you do not ſupport them in ſome ſhape or* " *other, you cannot have them: and if the ſame number is kept by the government,* " *as a ſtanding marine-force, they will coſt you at leaſt* 600,000 *l. and perhaps lay* " *the foundation of a freſh quarrel, the ſooner.*" This ſeems to be the *fair* ſtate of the queſtion, abſtracted from all *prejudice*; and being ſo ſtated, ſuppoſing *one* man ſhould, to gratify his *luxury*, pay 3 or 4 *l.* in the 500 *l.* and *another*, contenting himſelf with the *ſimple produce of the earth he treads upon*, ſhould pay *nothing*, would not the people, with one mighty voice, eccho through the nation, " *For the ſake of our dear children, and all that is valuable to us. For the ſake of* " *the ſeamen themſelves, and the delight we take in ſeeing naval affairs flouriſh, let* " *us have theſe* 12,000 *brave fellows!*"

To

(*a*) I ſuppoſe this to be the amount of the value of our annual conſumption, at the loweſt computation.

To illuſtrate this argument, I will refer you to what I mentioned in one of my former letters, in relation to the *coal trade*. Nothing can be felt in the ſame proportion as this. But will a ſhilling in a year, be an object to a *manufacturer* or *mechanic*, who burns a chaldron of coals, if he can ſit the more ſecurely by his *fire-ſide?* Perhaps he will pay ſo much leſs in his poors-rate, or find employment for a ſon. And when war comes, he will find his ſhillings repaid him abundantly by his taxes being *lighter*, and of ſo much the leſs *duration*, in proportion as our quarrels are brought to a more *ſpeedy deciſion*.

The freight, be it more or leſs, muſt ultimately center with the *conſumer*, and whilſt the ſhip-owner is repaid his extraordinary charge, he ſhould remember, that his *veſſel* is the better ſecured from *rocks* and *ſands*, and that the *induſtrious* farmer, and the *ſkillful* manufacturer, are employed in furniſhing food and raiment for his *additional crew*.

Thus you ſee I indulge myſelf in the pleaſing thoughts, that it is at leaſt *poſſible*, that ſome good may ariſe from this *ſpeculation*. *Providence* ſeems at length to have ripened events for ſome *attempt* of this ſort. We may differ in ſentiment as to the *mode*; certainly the more *plain* and *ſimple* it is, the better, provided it can be ſo *fortified*, as not to become a *prey* to *neglect*. Whilſt I hear ſo many *mercantile* and *ſea-faring* people of the moſt approved judgment, as well as *lords* and *gentlemen* in high offices, talk the ſame common language, with regard to the *great utility* of employing more ſeamen, *trade being properly guarded*, humanity itſelf will ſuffer a *reproach*, and our *trueſt politics*, and *nobleſt affections*, will be *wounded*, if we do not ſift this matter to the bottom, and exert ourſelves to do that which is *beſt*, for the intereſt of our country. In the mean while I am content to ſtand your *correction*. And, let the world go as it may, you may be aſſured that I am, with the moſt perfect eſteem, yours, &c.

A table of calculations of tonnage, and number of men, in the merchants-ſervice, to corroborate the preceding argument; with ſome remarks thereon.

LETTER XXIV.

I Promiſed I would ſend you a table of calculations, and I will be as good as my word. I have heard of a man's being found *hanging* on his bed-poſt, whilſt he was writing a treatiſe againſt *ſuicide*: ſo we may likewiſe write in *defence* of a doctrine till we are convinced of the *abſurdity* of it.—We are now only ſtarting a ſubject for others to examine, whether it be good or not. In *one view*, you ſee, this mends in our hands: if we have ſo many *ſhips in all*, which upon *further enquiry*, I apprehend to be really the caſe; and if their *tonnage* is equal to my account, we might entertain above 60,000 *able common ſeamen* in the *merchants-ſervice*, and *I hope* the expence to the *ſtate*, would not be *much* beyond the ſum mentioned.

In this calculation it is ſuppoſed, that as *different* ſhips navigate ſometimes with the *ſame* men, during the courſe of the year; ſo the *ſame* ſhip may ſail with *different* men. I allow the full ſupply, which, if it is a *flattering account*, it turns in favor of the propoſition; for the number will be ſo much the ſhorter.—You will pleaſe alſo to take notice, that the number of hands in the *timber-trade*, for which the *bounty* is allowed, is more conſiderable than in any other; and I muſt refer you back, to my Letter X. for the reaſons, *adding*, that if favor is not ſhewn to this branch, we may find it difficult ever to *recover* it; and indeed, the ſame may be ſaid, though in a leſs degree, of ſeveral *other* branches *now* in the hands of *foreigners*. As to the *coal trade* I have alſo dropt a *hand* from the *table*, which perhaps may be as well taken up again; but it is now reduced to ſo low a ſtandard, that allowing ſuch additional freight, as I calculate upon, to be due to ſuch ſhips, you will find the collier to be a gainer.

I am willing to ſuppoſe ſome trades occaſionally employ more ſhips than I have calculated upon. It is *probable* they do, therefore I throw into my table 1,200 ſhips, to ſupply all the deficiencies, and render it as reſpectable as poſſible, keeping

A CALCULATION of the number of *ſhips*, and quantity of *Tonnage*, employed; and of the numbe
merchants-ſervice, in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, allowing a BOUNTY for the *wages* and *victuals* o
a man, ſuppoſing him employed eight months in the year, 12 *l.* for ſix months; 10 *l.* as $\frac{2}{3}$ of the
freight to be paid by the conſumer, for the extraordinary freight on ſuch parts of our navigation, wh
400 tons not to navigate with fewer hands than thoſe of 400 tons; and the account made up, inclu

	tons		tons		hands	tons	
1 Man or Boy for	10	as high as	50	viz.	5 for	50	1
1	12		150		9 for	100	
					11 for	130	
					13 for	150	
1	20		200	viz.	14 for	170	
					15 for	190	
					15 for	200	
1	30		400		16 for	230	

TRADES.	Number of ſhips employed,	Burthen or tonage of ſhips, in each trade, on an average.	Total of the b of trade.
Portugal.	150	120	18
Spain.	300	100	30
Italy, Turkey, &c.	150	160	24
Bremen, Hamburgh and Holland *with manufactures.*	10	120	1
Norway, Baltic, Ruſſia, and America, *timber ſhips.*	* 350	300	105
Newfoundland Fiſhery Pilchards, &c.	500	100	50
Baltic trade.	300	160	48
Philadelphia, Penſilvania, New-England, and North-America, &c.	400	180	7
Carolina, &c.	150	120	18
Virginia, Maryland &c.	180	160	28
	2490		330
Barbadoes, Nevis, Jamaica, Antigua, Montſerrat, St. Chriſtophers, Africa, &c.	500	200	100
Cape Fear. *N. B. A bounty already allowed on pitch and tar.*	60	80	4
Eaſt-India and China.	60	500	30
Whale-fiſhery.	40	260	10
Holland, Hamburgh, Bremen &c. *excluſive of the* 10 *ſhips above mentioned.*	150	80	12
Herring-fiſhery.	30	80	2
France and Flanders.	200	50	10
Guernſey and Jerſey.	80	70	5
Occaſional ſhips, and for ſeveral other trades not mentioned above.	1200	100	120
Coal-trade.	* 800	240	192
Coaſters.	2000	45	90
Iriſh ſhips.	400	90	36
Total	8010	.....	943

the number *of seamen* neceſſary in each ſhip, *in order* to an increaſe of *ten or twelve thouſand ſeamen*, in the *victuals* of ſupernumeraries on the ſeveral trades under-mentioned; computing the expence, *viz.* at 16*l.* $\frac{3}{4}$ of the bounty, for eight months; 8*l.* as $\frac{1}{2}$ bounty for eight months. Alſo ſuppoſing an additional gation, wherein foreigners cannot interfere with us, calculated for time of peace. N. B. Ships above e up, including 8010 maſters, and reckoning 5000 mates.

tons		tons	tons		hands	tons
50 }	1 Man or Boy for	30	as high as	400 viz. . . .	17	for 260
100					18	for 290
130					18	for 300
150 }					19	for 320
170 }					19	for 330
190					20	for 360
200					21	for 390
230 }					21	for 400

or hips, rade, age.	Total tonage of the branch of trade.	Number of hands in each ſhip.	Total number of hands employed in each branch.	Number in each ſhip on which the bounty is allowed.	Total number of hands on which the bounty is to be paid.	Number in each ſhip extraordinary, in trades wherein foreigners cannot interfere with us.	Total number of extraordinary men in each branch, wherein foreigners cannot interfere, and no bounty is paid.	40 *s.* bounty per month for wages and victuals for each ſupernumerary.	Amount of bounty on each branch.
								£.	£.
120	18000	10	1500	1	150	. . . . .	. . . . .	8 months 16	2400
100	30000	9	2700	1	300	. . . . .	. . . . .	Ditto 16	4800
160	24000	13	1950	2	300	. . . . .	. . . . .	Ditto 16	4800
120	1200	10	100	1	10	. . . . .	. . . . .	Ditto 16	160
300	105000	16	5600	4	1400	. . . . .	. . . . .	Ditto 16	22400
100	50000	9	4500	1	500	. . . . .	. . . . .	Ditto 16	8000
160	48000	13	3900	2	600	. . . . .	. . . . .	6 months 12	7200
180	7200	14	5600	2	800	. . . . .	. . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ bounty 8	6400
120	18000	10	1500	1	150	. . . . .	. . . . .	8 months 16	2400
160	28800	13	2340	2	360	. . . . .	. . . . .	bounty 10	3600
	330200		29690		4570				62160
200	100000	15	7500	. . . . .	. . . . .	1	500	. . . . .	. . . . .
80	4800	7	42	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
500	30000	100	6000	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
260	10400	20	800	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
80	12000	7	1050	. . . . .	. . . . .	1	150	. . . . .	. . . . .
80	2400	16	480	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
50	10000	5	1000	. . . . .	. . . . .	1	200	. . . . .	. . . . .
70	5600	7	560	. . . . .	. . . . .	1	80	. . . . .	. . . . .
100	120000	9	10800	. . . . .	. . . . .	1	1200	. . . . .	. . . . .
240	192000	14	11200	. . . . .	. . . . .	4	3200	. . . . .	. . . . .
45	90000	5	10000	. . . . .	. . . . .	1	2000	. . . . .	. . . . .
90	36000	8	3200	. . . . .	. . . . .	1	400	. . . . .	. . . . .
.	943400	. . . . .	82322	. . . . .	4570	. . . . .	7730	. . . . .	£. 62160

Total additional men 12300

ing truth as near in view as I can. It may be objected, that I have too few coaſters; I preſume there *are* rather *more* than *leſs*, but the tonnage I have mentioned greatly exceeds the *cuſtom-houſe* DECLARATIONS, though I hope not the *truth*.

You ſee the ſum is encreaſed to above 60,000 *l.* which, conſidering the great proviſion made for every object that can well be affected, is much under what one might naturally expect. If this plan ſhould be agreed to, perhaps the ſum may be reduced; for if the bounty does not commence till the ſhip is within a certain number of days of her departure, and ends a certain number of days after her arrival, poſſibly the public expence may be a little abridged.

And now we will indulge ourſelves in the ſuppoſition, that we have *eſtabliſhed* our principles, and *proved* the neceſſity of entertaining a greater number of ſeamen, and that it can be done ~~only~~ *best* in the merchants-ſervice. We will alſo ſuppoſe, that the legiſlator's aſſent to the *bounty* as propoſed. You will eaſily comprehend, that I mean, as ſoon as a war commences, the obligation is to ceaſe: merchant-ſhips muſt then navigate in the beſt manner they can; for I preſume, all the *able ſeamen*, and *half-ſeamen*, that *trade* can poſſibly ſpare, were they all collected, with a number of landmen, would hardly be ſufficient to carry on all our military operations, with ſuch vigor as our *prudence* and *activity* might incline us to do. And as ſome proportion of our beſt ſeamen muſt be continued in the *merchant-ſervice*, ſome of the *ordinary ſeamen* and *landmen* muſt be accepted in the *King's ſhips*. Upon the whole, an additional ſupply of 10 or 12,000 able ſeamen, with ſuch encreaſe as would neceſſarily follow them, might give a very happy turn in the conduct of our *future wars*.

You are not to imagine from any thing I have ſaid on my *ſubject*, that I think the *method propoſed* is the *only* one which can be carried into execution; but I confeſs it ſeems to me the moſt *eaſily reduceable* to practice, and ſubject to create the *feweſt alarms*. I do not apprehend, even with *all* its *advantages*, it would entirely prevent *preſſing*, upon very *extraordinary occaſions*, but it would go a good way towards it. If any other *proper deſign* is brought in *aid* of it,

or *this* in *aid* of any other good deſign, we may hereafter hope to remedy the evil entirely.—Were we to *add*, the keeping 15 or 20,000 ſeamen upon a half pay, of ſix-pence a day, or even half a crown a week, with condition to be ready at call; perhaps, after ſeverely puniſhing ſome of them for deſertion, you might be able to command ſome part of them upon an emergency; but in this caſe they muſt be exerciſed, in the King's ſhips, every two years at moſt, or they will grow *ruſty*, and forget their *ſeamanſhip*. I have no objection to a thing of this kind being *tried*, in hopes of its anſwering, for I ſee no way by which a *true idea* can be formed, without a *trial*.

Or if inſtead of *ſeamen*, ſo denominated, you entertain a number of *men*, as *marines*, who are *really ſeamen*, and diſtinguiſh them by *ſome part of their clothing*, and not allow them to alter it; with liberty of living where they pleaſe, only to give an account of themſelves annually when they change their quarters, and ſubject them to the laws as deſerters, if they do not appear, after certain notice given: this ſhould be done publicly in all *churches*, as well as by *advertiſements*. Theſe alſo muſt be occaſionally exerciſed in the King's ſhips. The conſtant charge of 10,000 ſuch men, might not be above 70,000*l.* a year, except the employing them; this would create a larger expence, with ſome difficulty in collecting them, and ſome *inconvenience* to the *ſervice: but ſtill it might be done.* As to *barracks* for them, I have no notion of ſuch a meaſure; for if they were kept together, which would be extremely difficult, how could they be employed? and how could they live *happily* to *themſelves*, or *beneficially* to the *community*, without employment? —Wherever I turn, I ſee no way ſo *ſmooth* and *eaſy*, as the *better manning* our merchant-ſhips, and this appears to many, as *too rough*. When I hear it ſaid, ſuch a plan would *check the induſtry of maſters*, I think it will have a quite contrary effect; for the obligation, as to number of hands, being *equal* to all *maſters*, it will therefore *encourage* many, and quicken the motions of *all* of them, in other numerous inſtances on which their ſucceſs depends. FAREWELL. I am, &c.

PART

PART V.

THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF BREEDING UP BOYS TO THE SEA. THE INEFFICACY OF THE PRESENT LAWS, AND THE GREAT BENEFIT, OF EXTENDING THE PUBLIC INDULGENCE TO BOTH MASTER AND APPRENTICE.

The great importance of breeding up boys to the ſea, and the defects of the preſent laws in relation to them.

LETTER XXV.

I AM now brought to the point the moſt *intereſting*, perhaps the moſt *practicable*. It is the conſideration of *apprentices*, and of *young perſons* as ſervants in the *merchants-ſervice*. If this ſhould be calculated to increaſe the number of ſeamen; to render the charge of navigation eaſy; and to employ the poor; it muſt be ſo far productive of our greater ſafety and happineſs.

The labors of a ſea-life, in the merchants-ſervice, ſeem to be greateſt, in time of peace, on account of loading and unloading of ſhips, as the King's is more harraſſing in time of war: the latter alſo excels in *ſafety* of *navigation*, and in *ſpoil*; both have their peculiar pleaſures. If we purſue right meaſures, we may be morally certain that many will be glad to go to ſea, who now think meanly of it, and the more eaſy the duty is, ariſing from ſhips being better mann'd, the more will a ſea-life be ſought. And as in the merchant-ſervice, men generally live more quiet and collected than in the King's, it may be preſumed, they will occaſionally be more inclined to *domeſtic* enjoyments, whence our *true encreaſe* muſt ſpring.

When you hear gentlemen talk of the advantages of navigating ſhips *cheap*, they muſt recur to the conſideration of *boys* as *apprentices*; but when they urge it as a proof how *cheap* navigation may be, that a *few old men* have frequently carried ſhips, not only from one port to another, on *the coaſt*, but alſo *to* and *from foreign*

reign countries, what *remarks* can one make? not ſurely that the ſea is *always* in the ſituation, as when the ſhepherd ſold his flocks and turned *merchant!* The moſt uſeful inſtruction we can draw from hence is, that many more *ſeamen* might have been trained up; many more *merchant-ſhips mann'd*; *navigation encreaſed*; *war brought to more ſpeedy iſſue*; an *immenſe expence avoided*; and, I may venture to add, *many merchant-ſhips preſerved*, and *numbers of men* in them ſaved, had there been a *proper* number of hands to manage ſuch ſhips.

You will ſee that this deſign is meant to ſhow the utmoſt *indulgence* to the *merchant-ſervice*, and the greateſt *tenderneſs* to the *poor*, that can be right and neceſſary, at the ſame time that the law propoſed, exacts all due obedience.

It is beyond all contradiction, that thoſe who are bred to the ſea from the *earlieſt part of life*, generally become *the ableſt mariners*. By being inured to hardſhips, they are not only rendered the more *active* and *intrepid*, but they can alſo bear *long voyages*, *winter cruizes*, and *change of climate*; whereas the *landmen* we are often obliged to employ, in time of war, however valuable for their ſtrength of body, and *eſſentially* neceſſary to compleat the crew, in want of *ſeamen*, they add greatly to the expence of the *navy*, by frequently obſtructing military operations; for by their being more ſubject to ſickneſs, ſhips are ſo much the *oftener* obliged to return into port, and are rendered ſo much the *leſs* able to perform the ſervice required.

If one conſiders the *difference* between *ſtout able men*, bred to the ſea from *boys*, and thoſe who are taken from the land, after the age of *twenty one*, with the greater chance of mortality; alſo the infection, which muſt be more or leſs *communicated* as men become ſickly, with the inability of ſome landmen to learn ſeamanſhip, it is eaſy to conceive that *one hundred* ſuch complete *able ſeamen*, may do more eſſential ſervice, in the courſe of the *two firſt* years of a war, than *three hundred* common landmen. And if this is the caſe, whilſt we ſpeculate upon breeding up ſeamen, in a *free* and *indulgent* manner, which will certainly be found the moſt effectual way, we muſt have particular regard to *boys*; and, if poſſible,

leave

leave the *landman, already grown*, to *cultivate* the earth, *improve* himſelf in manufacturing, and promote the *arts of peace*, that he may take care of his whole *family*, whilſt he thinks it, however, a *duty* and an *honor*, to have at leaſt *one* of his ſons a *ſeaman*.

The notion that *ſailors* are apt to *forget* their *occupation*, or to be totally diſqualified to get their bread on ſhore, is generally carried *too far*, in *oppoſition* to the *moſt important doctrine* we can inculcate, and *directly contrary* to the great object we have in view. Young perſons trained up to any thing, grow moſt *expert*, and afterwards moſt eaſily recover the knowledge they loſe; they can alſo moſt eaſily learn the duties of more than *one calling*.

It has been the opinion of ſome men of *ſpeculative minds*, that no one ſhould be ſent to ſea without firſt learning a *trade*; this ſeems to be more *eaſy* in *ſpeculation*, than in *practice*, but it is a thought capable of great improvement. Boys, from the age of 12 to 14, often catch a great deal of ſome kinds of mechanic arts, in a little time, enough for a foundation to practiſe, as occaſions require, which frequently happen at ſea. And if there were *public places*, where ſome common trades were taught, without the tedious forms of apprenticeſhip, ſuch boys as were at ſea ports, unemployed, might attend, and qualify themſelves, in ſome degree, for living on ſhore, at the very time of their learning a *ſeaman's duty*, and habituating themſelves to a ſea-life: but this, as well as what regards *piety*, and a general *habit of induſtry*, would depend on the *ſkill*, and *good diſpoſition* of the *maſter*. Example operates wonderfully on the minds of men, and things ſeemingly impoſſible to one perſon, grow familiar at another. "*Cuſtom is a tyrant*, "*and the law of fools*," but nations muſt *improve* on themſelves, or they may be ſure of degenerating into their priſtine barbarity of manners.

An example of the great utility of *taking apprentices*, and of *breeding* them up in the manner propoſed, has lately fallen within my knowledge. A certain merchant of a great trading port, a young man of great virtue, has no leſs than

twenty

twenty-four ſuch apprentices, in ſeveral of his ſhips, the moſt part of them the ſons of very poor perſons, and many of them children pickt up from the very dung-hills, *as boys are collected by the Marine Society in London.* He cloaths them well, and when in port, they are, at his expence, *taught what is uſeful.* If they *behave well*, he gives them *pocket-money*, but he always takes care to keep them *fully employed.* Thus he engages their *gratitude* and *fidelity*, and in time of great ſcarcity of ſeamen, when all his *other men* have left him, he has navigated ſome of his ſhips entirely with his *apprentices.*—It is probable, the moſt part of theſe *boys* will become the *very kind* of *men*, of whom we wiſh to ſee at leaſt, *twenty thouſand extraordinaries*, capable of a *ſea-life*, and yet not *ignorant* how to live on ſhore.

Nothing can be more obvious, than that an iſland, ſuch as this, ſo often engaged in naval wars, ſhould contain great numbers of inhabitants inured to the ſea. Whether *boys* being ſent to ſea, at an early time of life, whilſt their *parents* and *relations* are yet alive, will have a *greater* or *leſs* inclination to live on ſhore, is a queſtion not very eaſy to decide; but it is certain, they *can* live at ſea better than others, and the greater number of ſuch *go to ſea*, the greater number muſt *neceſſarily live on ſhore*, occaſionally; and there *never* was yet a ſailor who had not his *days of joy* on ſhore, in his proper and *natural* element.

We ſee the *royal navy* is a *vaſt nurſery of ſeamen, in time of war*, but we muſt remember, that it does not employ above *one quarter part* ſo many *in time of peace*, as the *merchants-ſervice.* As to *boys*, during peace, there is hardly *five hundred* at a time in the King's ſhips, bred up to go before the maſt: whereas the merchants-ſervice, if a proper law was inforced, might breed every *ſix* or *ſeven* years, 9 or 10,000 ſailors, and the courſe of mortality being allowed for, at leaſt as many more by the end of *twenty* years, at which time, they may probably be called upon *for war.* In the mean while, it is evident *from fact*, that the moſt part of them will *learn* how to live *on ſhore*, as well as at ſea. But alas, the injunctions of the *act of Queen Anne*, in regard to *apprentices*, are impracticable: there are no *penalties* on pariſh officers, and the law is of no uſe, nor will compulſory

meaſures

meaſures, in this inſtance, anſwer the end propoſed. Upon ſtrict enquiry, I cannot find, that this act is of any ſervice, as *no indentures* are ſent by pariſh officers to *collectors*, to be *regiſtered*, nor are any aſſignments of *apprentices* executed before them; nor hardly any clauſe in the act taken notice of, except that ſome few *indentures* and *certificates* have been occaſionally brought to *collectors* of the cuſtoms, and tranſmitted by them to the *Admiralty*, with a view to obtain *protections*.

It is alledged, and I believe with very good reaſon, that the *firſt* and *ſecond* ſections (*a*) of the act, are of little or no uſe, for the *neceſſitous poor* after the age of fourteen, are generally left deſerted, and bind themſelves out apprentices in the beſt manner they can. Upon this, I cannot help remarking how uſeful it might be, to have proper officers, at a ſmall expence to the crown, at every great port, but particularly in *London*, to *correſpond with maſters of ſhips and pariſh officers*, and others, in order to *aſſiſt* the parties, as I ſhall explain more hereafter; and to do that in a *friendly* manner, I mean with regard to *pariſh officers* and the *poor*, which perhaps cannot *conſtitutionally* be done by any law or *compulſory* regulation. And can any thing be more rational and conſiſtent, than to *aſſiſt* boys at this *tender age*, perhaps half

(*a*) *Stat.* 2 *Anne cap.* 6, *ſect.* 1. It ſhall be lawful for two juſtices of peace, as alſo for mayors, aldermen, bailiffs, and other chief officers and magiſtrates, of any city or town corporate, and likewiſe for the churchwardens and overſeers of the poor of the ſeveral pariſhes, with the approbation of ſuch juſtices of peace, mayors, &c. to bind out any boys of the age of *ten years or upwards*, or who ſhall be chargeable, or whoſe parents are chargeable to the pariſh, or who ſhall beg for alms, to be apprentices to the ſea-ſervice to any of her majeſty's ſubjects, maſters, or owners of any ſhip, belonging to any port within *England*, *Wales*, or *Berwick*, untill ſuch boys ſhall attain the age of 21 years, and the age of every ſuch boy ſhall be mentioned in his indentures, taken from a copy of the regiſter-book, wherein the time of his being baptized is entred, (where the ſame can be had) which copy ſhall be given and atteſted by the miniſter, or curate of ſuch pariſh, without fee, and may be writ without ſtamp; and where no ſuch entry can be found, ſuch juſtices, mayors, &c. ſhall inform themſelves of ſuch boy's age, and inſert the ſame in the indentures, and the age ſo inſerted ſhall be taken to be his true age.

Sect. 2. The churchwardens and overſeers of the pariſh from whence ſuch boy ſhall be bound apprentice, ſhall pay to ſuch maſter, at the time of his binding, 50 ſhillings, to provide clothing and bedding.

half *naked*, or in *filthineſs and rags*; totally *ignorant* how to apply; *unrecommended*, and, as a common effect of *great poverty*, requiring *phyſic* as well as *food*.

As to the 5th 6th and 11th ſections (*b*) of the ſame act, whatever the *laws* may *countenance*, *cuſtom* does not allow of any right of *compulſion* in pariſh officers, with regard to the *poor*; much leſs to compel any *maſter of a ſhip* to take ſuch boy as *they* ſhall offer. Nor *could* the compelling the maſter be carried into execution, without ſuch a *rigorous* conſtruction as would be abſolutely deſtructive of the end propoſed.

Thus the act, inſtead of executing itſelf, is become obſolete, and, though intended to *encourage pariſh-officers* to facilitate the *execution*, the terms of it ſeem to render it a *dead letter*, though the deſign is *noble*, and might be of the higheſt advantage to the ſtate.

Section

(*b*) *Sect.* 5. The churchwardens and overſeers ſhall ſend the indentures to the collector of the cuſtoms, reſiding at any port whereunto ſuch maſters of ſhips belong; who ſhall enter all indentures ſo ſent, and make an endorſement of the regiſtry thereof, without fee; and ſuch collector, neglecting to enter ſuch indentures, and endorſe the ſame, or making falſe entries, ſhall forfeit 5 *l.* for the uſe of the poor of the pariſh, from whence ſuch boy was bound; and ſuch collector ſhall tranſmit certificates to the admiralty, containing the names and ages of every ſuch apprentice, and to what ſhip he belongs: and upon receipt of ſuch certificates, *protection ſhall be given for ſuch apprentices, till they attain their ages of* 18 *years, without fee; which certificates are not required to be writ upon ſtampt paper, &c.*

Sect. 6. Every perſon to whom any pariſh-boy ſhall be put apprentice, according to 43 *Eliz. cap.* 2. may, with the approbation of two juſtices of the peace of the county, dwelling in or near the pariſh where ſuch poor boy was bound, or with the approbation of any mayor, alderman, bailiff, or other chief officer or magiſtrate of any city, borough, or town corporate, where ſuch poor boy was bound by indenture, turn-over ſuch poor boy apprentice to any maſter of ſuch ſhip for the remaining time of his apprenticeſhip; *all which indentures of aſſignment are to be regiſtered, and certificates thereof to be tranſmitted by ſuch collector of the ports where ſuch pariſh-apprentices ſhall be ſo aſſigned over, in manner aforeſaid; and protections ſhall be given for ſuch apprentices, till they attain their age of* 18 *years.*

Sect. 11. The counterpart of ſuch indentures, ſhall be atteſted by the collector at the port, (where ſuch apprentices ſhall be bound, or aſſigned over) and the conſtable, or other officer, who ſhall bring ſuch apprentices, which conſtables, &c. ſhall tranſmit the counterpart of ſuch indentures, to the churchwardens and overſeers of the pariſhes from whence ſuch apprentices ſhall be bound.

Section the 14th (*c*) can never anſwer the end propoſed, for between the clearing and ſailing of a ſhip, eſpecially in time of war, veſſels generally loſe ſome of their hands, and ſometimes the whole crew is changed. For the ſame reaſon, the diſtinctions of a man's *name*, *quality*, *age*, *ſtature*, *place*, with ſuch kind of *curioſity*, would probably become exceedingly difficult, were there a *power of martial law*: but when it is conſidered that officers in the King's ſervice generally go through a *laborious apprenticeſhip* to learn their duty, what can we expect of maſters of ſhips? Nothing can be done without diſcipline, nor would this alone avail; the maſter muſt alſo have *authority* veſted in him to execute it, and the whole *conſtitution of commercial navigation muſt be changed*. The moſt which is required by my propoſal, is to attend to the obligation of maſters, as to the *groſs number of men and boys* in their crew, not diſtinguiſhing *men* and *boys*, but leaving the maſter, in this inſtance, *greater liberty* than he had before, ſuppoſing the act juſt quoted were duly executed, for by this he is *obliged* to take a certain number of *apprentices*.

Nothing of this kind can be done effectually, in *ſea-ports* of great buſineſs, unleſs perſons are charged with the execution, whoſe ſole duty it ſhall be to *inſpect* and *direct* the conduct of ſuch an affair. It is a clear point to me, that it ought not to be expected of *collectors of cuſtoms*, at ſuch ports, for theſe have ſo much on their hands, if they do their duty, that they cannot *duly* attend to the many circumſtances, relative to the placing out boys as *apprentices* to the ſea; and the doing a buſineſs of this kind in a *ſlovenly* manner, muſt be the ruin of it, as experience proves. FAREWELL. I am, &c.

(*c*) *Sect.* 14. Every cuſtomhouſe-officer, at each of the ports, ſhall inſert at the bottom of their coquets, the number of men and boys on board the ſhips, at their going out of every ſuch port, deſcribing the apprentices by their names, ages, and dates of their indentures, for which no fee ſhall be taken.

The great advantage of facilitating the means, of maſters obtaining an ample ſupply of boys as apprentices.

LETTER XXVI.

THE indulgence offered, by this *propoſal*, to aſſiſt maſters in providing themſelves, would probably induce them to breed up a great number of ſeamen; and they would, *all*, neceſſarily take *apprentices*, as the *North-country navigators* generally do, if they were under an obligation to carry a certain number of hands.

Briſtol has ſeen with amazement, the great progreſs made in commercial enterprizes by her rival *Liverpool*. One great cauſe of this, confeſſedly ariſes from the particular countenance ſhewn to *apprentices*. The *colliers*, in the mean while, navigate their ſhips with a great proportion of *young perſons*, and are indulged, in time of war, with *contract-ſervants* beſides; which indulgence, the holding apprentices till they are 19 years of age, and no longer, need not ſupercede.

The two great objects of the legiſlature, has conſtantly been, to *relieve the poor* by inviting them to go to ſea, and *to augment the number of ſeamen*; in both which, if one may judge from experience, and from the temper of our fellow-ſubjects, much more will be done by *lenity* and a ſimple rule, than by any *harſh*, *difficult*, or *compulſive* methods.

If we ſhould think, in good earneſt, of purſuing a plan for the ſupport of a greater naval force, in time of peace, we muſt have ſome *new law*; and in caſes where laws cannot conſiſtently reach the *end* in view, or where compulſion will deſtroy it, ſuch methods may be followed, that a *cuſtom* may be eſtabliſhed, to anſwer the ſame end as *law*. In the mean while, I would recommend the proceeding, upon a plan that ſhall, ſo far as it goes, aſcertain clearly, and exactly, the *lines of diſtinction*.

1ſt. That

1ſt. That no *apprentice* to a maſter or owner of a ſhip ſhall be compelled, or even *permitted* to liſt, or enter himſelf into his Majeſty's ſervice at ſea, during his *apprenticeſhip*.

2dly. In order to aſcertain the time of the ſervitude of all apprentices to the ſea, the age of ſuch boy ſhould be written, in *words at length*, in the body of the indenture; which age, in caſe of any doubt on the part of the maſter, may be taken from the regiſter of the baptiſm, where it *can* be found, for which no fee ſhould be paid, nor ſhould any ſtamp be required: this is agreeable to the law, as it already ſtands.

3dly. I propoſe that the *commiſſioner*, *agents*, or *collectors*, appointed for the affair of the *bounties* and *fines*, ſhould take cognizance of placing out apprentices to the ſea, when *applications* are made to them; but as much will depend on the *age*, where no entry of baptiſm can be found conveniently, this may be taken upon report and appearance, the maſter agreeing to it; and ſuch age being inſerted in the indenture, may be taken, (ſo far as relates to the indenture) as his *true* age.—It is not probable there could be any great difference. If indentures are made before, or in the preſence of, the commiſſioner, agents, or collectors, their ſanction will be one means of removing ſuſpicions on the part of the regulating captains, in time of war; but, upon any ſuſpicion of fraud, ſuch *captain* may require a *certificate of the pariſh regiſter*, of the real age of the apprentice, not detaining him however, but his maſter ſhould be accountable for him, till ſuch *certificate* is produced. An experienced officer in this way, will generally diſtinguiſh when lads are much turned of *nineteen*, which is all that is neceſſary.

4thly, All theſe apprentices ſhould be exempt from paying *ſixpence* per month to *Greenwich* hoſpital. (*a*) As the law now ſtands, they are not obliged to pay it till they are 18, when it is ſuppoſed their maſters can *afford* to pay. I apprehend

(*a*) It is required, by an act of the 7th and 8th years of King *William* III. entitled, "an act for the encreaſe and encouragement of ſeamen," to pay the *ſixpence*, at the age of 18.

they ſhould not pay at all, during the apprenticeſhip; and yet if a youth is out of his time at nineteen, the *revenue* of the *hoſpital* will be conſiderably augmented by the *encreaſe* of the number of our *ſeamen*.

5thly, Any boy bound to any *owner*, or *maſter* of a ſhip, to ſerve at ſea, his *indenture* ſhould be a *full* and *ample protection* from being *impreſt*, till the age of nineteen, though he ſhould have been, previous to ſuch indenture, actually employed as a mariner at ſea.

By a late act made in the 31ſt year of his preſent Majeſty's reign, proviſion is made to validate the claim of all maſters, for the wages due to their *apprentices*, *if they are detained on board the King's ſhips, after it is made known to the officers that they are apprentices, and not otherwiſe*; and the ſame clauſe gives a right to maſters to *claim the apprentices* alſo, provided his indentures be not made, or he put out an *apprentice*, after the age of 18: but as by this propoſal he may be apprenticed out *at any time*, till he is *nineteen* years of age, and not to continue bound after the age of 19, it creates this ſmall difference.

6thly, It is already one part of the act of *the ſecond of Queen Anne*, that when any boy is bound to any maſter, or owner of a ſhip, to ſerve at ſea, by any *church-warden or overſeer of the poor of any pariſh for the time being*, they ſhall pay down to ſuch maſter or owner to whom the boy is bound, *fifty ſhillings*, towards providing *neceſſary clothing and bedding* for his uſe at ſea, and the charge to be allowed in their *accounts*. But if any regulation ſhould take place by which the *commiſſioner*, *agents*, or *collectors*, ſhould ſuperintend any ſuch *apprenticeſhips*, *they* might, with moſt propriety, receive the fifty ſhillings, and provide the *clothing* and *bedding*, the maſter himſelf, and the *overſeer*, being checks on them, that the ſame is *actually* provided.

It may happen ſometimes, that the ſaving this *fifty ſhillings*, will be a temptation to ſome pariſh officers, to reſtrain the boy from going to ſea; but it ſhould be underſtood, in ſuch caſe, that the *maſter* may make his bargain with the boy's

parents.

parents. The parent alſo often objects to the boy's going to ſea, ſo that the encouragement muſt extend to both; and what can this be better, than their own intereſt and ſelf-love? and what can promote a proper knowledge of the *real deſign* ſo well as *civil treatment*, where laws do not extend, or where the execution of a *law*, by forcible means may pervert its own end?

Some pariſh officers have occaſionally paid a little regard to this clauſe of the *Act of the ſecond of Queen Anne*, but not ſuch as to make it productive of the good intended. In *London*, or in the ports where agents and collectors reſide, it might be eaſy to regulate this matter: but whether *in town, or country*, I am confident that *compulſive* meaſures will never anſwer. Though the *poor* are under an awe from thoſe who adminiſter *pariſh-money*, and are in ſome meaſure conſtrained to act as the *officer* pleaſes, yet they will not part with their children for the ſea-ſervice, under falſe impreſſions, which have too often prevailed, in *inland* parts of the country.

7thly, The overſeers of every townſhip or village, reſpectively, as they may have the ſame powers, muſt be induced, in like manner, to conſent on their own part, and to encourage the *poor* to ſend their children to ſea, particularly in ſuch places where there is not ſufficient employment for them. And here, care ſhould be taken to place boys in proper hands, that their treatment may be ſuch as will encourage others to follow the example. This will *diffuſe wealth, promote marriage*, and render the moſt *indigent parts* of the iſland ſo much the more happy, and more deſerving *attention*. The ſhowing a certain reſpect to *parents*, in regard to their children, be they ever ſo *poor*, and avoiding the moſt diſtant attempts at inveigling away children, operates wonderfully on their minds, for mankind are naturally fond of reſpect, and in a free country they will maintain their *freedom*. It would not have been practicable to carry the deſign of the Marine Society near ſo high, if they had purſued any different rule of conduct.

8thly, Upon the ſame principle, if a boy is an *orphan*, his conſent being ſignified before a juſtice of the peace, he might be ſent by the pariſh officer to ſea, as an *apprentice*, but neither in this caſe ſhould we uſe compulſive meaſures.—To facilitate

cilitate the execution of this plan, the *overſeers* and *church-wardens of pariſhes, ſituated near the ſea*, ſhould be encouraged to *ſhew* ſuch boys as are proper for a ſea-life, and inclined to it, to *maſters of ſhips* at the ports, or to the *commiſſioner, agents*, or *collectors:* they ſhould alſo leave an account of the boy, in a *printed form*, which may be lodged in the hands of ſuch officers, or with the miniſter or curate, or both, in all pariſhes through theſe kingdoms. This ſhould be a deſcription of a boy, as *name, place of abode, name of parents if any, conſent of parents, under whoſe care as churchwardens and overſeers for the time being, age, make, ſtature, health, if ſubject to any diſeaſe*, proper blanks being left for the purpoſe. A view of ſuch an account, would encourage maſters to ſeek for ſuch boys, who might otherwiſe remain in obſcurity; and if this kind of proviſion, it ſuited to a boy's genius, he would thus have *fair play* in all reſpects, and the *public* alſo.

9thly, Nor ſhould the encouragement ſtop here, for the churchwardens and overſeers might eaſily correſpond by letter, and ſend theſe *deſcriptions* to the *commiſſioner, agents* or *collectors*, which being entered in a book, maſters might be referred to it, and by this means ſupplied, whenever they were in want of apprentices. I ſuppoſe a boy ſhould not be under 12, nor above 14 years old; others ſhould not be *excluded*, but *under* this age, is too tender a ſtate; and above, it may be preſumed, boys are already *uſefully* employed.

If any boy ſhould be ſent *falſely* deſcribed, he ſhould be *returned*, at the charge of thoſe who ſent him, who refuſing to pay the expence, ſhould be ſubject to a fine of *five pounds*. Theſe precautions being obſerved, it is probable, very few boys would be ſent back to their towns or villages, and if they were, no *offence* could be taken; and this would prove, that a favor is granted, when received, not that *force* or compulſion is intended. You know, this has been ſeveral times done by our *Marine-Society*. Indeed it is cruelty, to ſend a boy to ſea, who is not formed by nature for a laborious employment, and ſtill more, if there is any particular defect in his *make* and *conſtitution*. It will be an eaſy taſk in *London*, or in great towns, for a *ſurgeon* to attend to examine boys, as men are examined in the *King's ſervice*, or as *we* practiſe in our ſociety.

10thly,

10thly, We ſee our news-papers ſtuffed with accounts, where you may *amuſe* yourſelf for an hour; why ſhould we not *publiſh where*, and *when*, in every part of theſe kingdoms, the *hungry* may be *fed*; the *naked clothed*, and the *ſick healed*; not to be indulged in idle hoſpitals, but to get their *bread* at ſea, like honeſt and brave men, who, whilſt they promote their own welfare, in the moſt uſeful way, ſerve their country. This method might create no great expence beyond the *fifty ſhillings* allowed by the pariſh, except in *London* and great ſea-ports, where a number of young perſons would be occaſionally collected. Here indeed ſome proviſion muſt be made, and it would not be difficult to aſcertain the *expence* for each boy, nor to provide for it. Suppoſing the ſcheme for *fines* were not to take place, or the produce be inſufficient for ſuch *expence*, the great affair is to put the buſineſs in a *proper train*, and prevent abuſes, and then a ſum not exceeding 3 or 4000*l.* a year, might put out 2 or 3000 *poor* boys annually. The community would certainly be a *gainer* by it: and if it did not extend beyond *London*, where the perſon charged with this office would be ſubject to the inſpection of all the world, it would ſtill anſwer many *great* and *good purpoſes*, and prevent many of thoſe miſchiefs to ſociety, which poverty and bad example create. Of this we have ſeen very ſtriking proofs, in *our Society-boys*. An office eſtabliſhed for this purpoſe, would ſoon become a *rendezvous* for the *wretched*, the *bold*, the *hardy*, and the *brave*.

11thly, When any boy is put out *apprentice* to the ſea, by the *churchwardens* or *overſeers of a pariſh*, theſe ſhould pay the charge of the *ſtamp* and *parchment indenture*, on the one part, and the *maſter* on the *other*, without any other fee or reward to this *commiſſioner*, *agent*, or *collector*, except *one ſhilling*; this charge being fixt, it would prevent abuſes hereafter, more than if no fee at all was given. The counterpart of the indenture, ſhould be lodged in the hands of the *churchwardens* and *overſeers*, or any other parent or friend, who might *recommend* a boy. — This would open a great field for the exerciſe of humanity in the moſt proper manner, and the whole nation would ſo far become a *Marine Society*.

12thly, It would be natural for the common people to ſeek an office ſo eſtabliſhed, in hopes to place out their children; and if they there met the quickeſt *diſpatch*,

patch, the moſt *civil* treatment, and the leaſt *expence*, they would certainly prefer it to *any* private office. But no *indenture* ſhould be made out, till a *week* after the firſt appearance; or if there was any room for ſuſpicion, a longer time ſhould be given. This would afford *time for enquiry* into the circumſtances of young perſons, and be a means of preventing all clandeſtine proceedings.

13thly, When boys appeared without *pariſh officer*, *parent*, or *friend*, the *commiſſioner* ſhould act as a *parent*. In this caſe, the boy ſhould be maintained for *a week*, or a longer time, before he was *apprenticed* out, ſuppoſing a maſter could be provided for him.

As to *vagabonds*, the magiſtrates who take them up, ſhould ſignify in writing what ſituation they know, or apprehend them to be in, ſuch magiſtrate being ſuppoſed to have examined into the caſe.—Such an *office* and *officer*, will be wanted in this great metropolis, if we mean to provide a proper employment for a great number of young perſons, who, as we have long ſeen, are otherwiſe *loſt*, or become the *peſt* of ſociety. And if a *fair* and *candid* repreſentation is made, the *maſter of a ſhip*, or any other *maſter*, will judge fairly of the matter, and refuſe or accept ſuch boys. If a boy is not abſolutely under circumſtances of *impriſonment*, he will have a much better chance of getting a maſter, after being kept a proper time in a *private houſe*, than he could poſſibly have coming from a *public priſon*, and bid much fairer to be ſaved from perdition. You know how we manage in *our ſociety*, but I conceive that our ſcheme is yet capable of great improvements, and might be put on ſuch a foundation as to laſt for ages. — Much more might be added to my letter, but it is already *very long*, I hope not *tedious*. Adieu. I am, &c.

Maſters being ſecure of their apprentices; and apprentices being out of their time, and free at the age of nineteen, a great encouragement to both.

LETTER XXVII.

NOtwithſtanding that *maſters of ſhips* are *well* acquainted with the advantages of taking *apprentices*, yet there has not been near ſo many taken, in our merchant-ſhips, as our *trade* might have brought up. The beſt reaſon to be aſſigned for it is, that for want of that *methodical aſſiſtance*, and the *compulſory obligation* now propoſed, *ſome* maſters have not been *able* to find apprentices; *others* have choſen to be at liberty to purſue their *pleaſures* in port, and not to take the charge of *boys*, when their ſhips were not employed; whilſt *all* of them complain, of being ſubject to have their *apprentices taken from them, for the uſe of the King's ſhips*, in time of war. It is more than probable, that were this propoſal, to take place, a greater number of boys, would *offer* themſelves as *apprentices*; and as *maſters* are, by this plan, left to their *choice*, to navigate their ſhips with *men*, or *boys*, old or young, agreeably to that freedom which conſtitutes the eſſence of trade, there is no reaſon to believe, but that the greateſt part of ſuch boys would be accepted. We are to conſider, that *boys* are generally capable of performing the greateſt part of the duty of a ſhip, in *ſmall veſſels*, early in life; and it does not ſeem at all conſiſtent with the freedom and *policy* which we already eſpouſe, that ſuch boys ſhould ſerve as *apprentices* beyond the age of *nineteen*.

Apprentices, as both *law* and *cuſtom* now ſtand, are ſubject to be *impreſt* after they have been *three* years at ſea, and many of them *are preſt* at this time; from whence we may naturally infer, that if a boy is put out at *twelve* to *fourteen* years of age, he will be capable of doing good ſervice to his maſter, long before he is *nineteen*; and if the maſter is *obliged* to take a certain number of hands, and can be

morally certain of ſecuring his *apprentices* from being preſt, there is the utmoſt reaſon to believe, that maſters will breed up *two* or *three lads*, every *ſix* or *ſeven* years, which will make a very *ample augmentation*. And let the exigencies of the ſtate be what they may, it is to be preſumed, there will be no *neceſſity* of forcibly taking lads *under nineteen*, to ſerve the crown, when *all mariners above this age*, without exception, will be ſubject, as they now are, to ſerve the king, when ſuch exigency of ſtate requires it.

No one is ſuppoſed to be arrived at *maturity* for the duties of the *King's ſhips*, and to manage *great guns*, before he is *twenty-one*; and as to *boys* there are enough of them *allowed* in the navy; ſo that this propoſal ſeems to be calculated, in a direct view, for *the ſervice of the crown*; *the benefit of the maſter of the ſhip*; *and to promote the fortune of the apprentice*. By this means our *commerce* will be a great *nurſery* for the *King's ſhips:* maſters of *merchant-ſhips* will be more attentive to do *their duty*, in regard to their *apprentices*; theſe will be bred up more in the *fear of God*; their *health* will be better *preſerved*; their *fidelity* more to be *depended on*; and they will be, in every reſpect, *better men*, than if they were *hurried* into the *royal navy* at an earlier time of life.

I would not be underſtood to imagine, that all *merchants*, *owners*, or *maſters of ſhips*, will follow the example of my friend, whom I mentioned to you in my former letter to breed up *twenty-four apprentices* at one and the ſame time; but it is plainly deducible from *fact*, and from the extenſiveneſs of our trade, how much the breeding up of *good ſeamen*, as well as *great numbers* of them, depends on the good conduct of *maſters of ſhips:* and therefore great countenance ought to be ſhown to ſuch maſters, when they do their duty. The granting them this indulgence, with regard to apprentices, is in fact neither more nor leſs, than promoting the great end intended by this propoſal, *viz. the furniſhing and providing of men to mann the royal navy in time of need.*

It muſt be confeſſed, that this plan carries with it as great an indulgence to the *apprentice* as to the *maſter*, and it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that it will be abuſed in many inſtances: you may be ſure, that an *apprentice* will not give up his *rights* by making his age *leſs* than it is, or his *apprenticeſhip longer* than the *law* has provided for; and *maſters* will not lay themſelves *open* to *lads*, to make fraudulent bargains in which they may be ſo eaſily detected. ADIEU. I am, &c.

The great advantage of making a proper choice of young perſons to ſend to ſea, and giving them good impreſſions of it, under proper regulations.

LETTER XXVIII.

WITH regard to the *great plan* of this propoſal, it muſt be obſerved, that there are in this kingdom *above one hundred charity ſchools, and work houſes*, where children are either *taught*, or *clothed and taught*, and many of them *fed* alſo, at the *expence* of the *public*. It is but juſt that the *public* ſhould receive a benefit from this charge, eſpecially when the boy is provided for, in a manner moſt proper to his ſituation; *probably*, better than he would otherwiſe enter into the world; and *certainly* in the way which benefactors to charities recommend, that ſome of their boys ſhould be diſpoſed of. This may be done with the children bred up by the *Foundling Hoſpital*, whoſe *parents* have really deſerted them; but in general we muſt not think of *compulſory laws* in ſuch inſtances. Where there is no *crime*, there ought not to be any *puniſhment*, and ſo long as *happineſs* or *miſery*, among the *poor* as well as the *rich*, conſiſts ſo much in *opinion*, it is enough that any thing is *thought* a puniſhment, to be ſo. We ſee that where *ſome* are *forced*, even to their *good*, others will not *comply voluntarily*. The occupation of a ſeaman ſhould be always *courted*, as *profitable* and *honorable*, but we ſee it too often *ſhunned*, as *deſtructive* and *diſgraceful*. The giving juſt impreſſions depends upon a *proper* conduct, with the ſupport of *proper regulations*.

In reſpect to the diſtinctions of young perſons; the boy whoſe *enterpriſing genius* endangers his becoming a good ſubject on *ſhore*, may do well *at ſea*. *In-*

herent worthleſſneſs, is a bad property on any element; but ſome boys are deſigned by *nature*, for ſcenes which require *ſpirit* and *activity*: many a one who makes a *bad figure at ſea*, would have ſet at the *loom*, or followed the *plough*, with great credit.

With *gentle* and *judicious management*, theſe *ſchools* and *work-houſes* may hereafter become as *fountains*, from whence will flow a great part of the *ſtrength* of the nation. From hence may be choſen, the beſt limb'd, and moſt robuſt children, to be bred to the ſea; not to their own benefit only, but to the great advantage of their *aged parents*, and the eaſe of the *poor's rate*.

Every boy that offers cannot be received: the good ſenſe of the country gentleman, who wiſhes to be inſtrumental in relieving the *poor*, and *promoting trade*, will lead him to diſtinguiſh *perſons*, and whilſt he recommends the keeping on ſhore, the boy of the moſt gentle diſpoſition, he will alſo recommend the ſending the *active* one to ſea. In the mean while, it ſhould be remembered, that if a ſea-life exceeds others in occaſional hardſhips, it alſo gives more *profit*, and more *holidays*, than the greateſt part of *laborious* employments *on ſhore* generally admit of. Beſides, if *maſters* of ſhips were obliged, by law, to take a certain number of hands, they would, for their own ſakes, treat their apprentices, with ſo much the greater humanity. The maſter who has the *beſt reputation* would probably have the *moſt apprentices*, and conſequently navigate his ſhip the cheapeſt.

Due encouragement being given, every pariſh, within a moderate diſtance of the ſea, might be made to pride itſelf in producing a certain proportion of *ſturdy ſeamen*, eſpecially if the neighboring gentlemen take this matter right, are *zealous* for the intereſt of their *country*, and ſtrive to accommodate their *poor*. The moſt remote parts of the iſland would feel the *happy effects*, by the encreaſe of their trade, at the ſame time that they promoted the *naval ſtrength* of theſe kingdoms; and *thus we ſhould become a maritime power in one ſenſe, that I am ſorry to ſay, we do not ſeem to be at preſent, notwithſtanding all our juſt pretenſions to pre-eminence.*

It is certain, that numbers who are *beggars* and *pilferers*, might be *profitably* employed; and the *poor* in many parts of the kingdom, relieved in the moſt uſeful and proper manner: for were theſe *young ſeamen* ſought for moſt, where there are feweſt manufactures, it would prevent any people being drawn off from thoſe counties, which floriſh by their handy work. We have undeniable evidence of what can be done, by gentleneſs, even in *one city only*, I mean this *metropolis*; where *a private aſſociation*, not veſted with any *authority*, and unaſſiſted with any other means, but ſuch as are dependent on the munificence of *private perſons*, have fitted out ſuch a number of *volunteer men and boys*.

It is no leſs evident, that the *meaning* of the legiſlature has *always* been, that ſuch *poor boys*, as are inclined to a ſea-life, ſhould be encouraged, and alſo *aſſiſted* in providing themſelves *maſters*; and therefore *maſters* muſt be *encouraged* to *take them*. This cannot be done ſo effectually, as by eſtabliſhing offices, conveniently ſituated in different parts of the kingdom, as I mentioned to you in my former letter. It is thus the *mediation* of a *proper officer*, would facilitate the great plan of *voluntary ſeamanſhip*. Whilſt mankind naturally aſpire at *freedom*, every *boy* who knows his *indenture* is his *protection*, and that he will be conſidered as a *man* at *nineteen*, ſo far as relates to his *freedom* and *receiving pay* for himſelf, will enlarge his *ideas*, and he will be really a different kind of creature. And though it is not to be imagined, theſe *ſeamen* of *nineteen* will be equal to others of greater experience, neither will their *pay* be equal. There are already many kinds of prices for different kinds of *perſons*, and if there is *another* added, it will be of ſo much the greater ſervice. If theſe *officers* are well choſen, and underſtand what is *intended* by the *legiſlature*, their offices, as I have already obſerved, cannot fail of becoming ſo many *rendezvouſes* for *young perſons*, who are inclined to ſerve the merchants at ſea, and cannot find *maſters*; whilſt the deſign will operate ultimately in favor of the *royal navy*, whenever we ſhall be called upon to *furniſh men* for war.

As to *London*, it carries on above half the trade of the whole kingdom, but I hope it contains not above *one eighth* part of the inhabitants. We find it is conſtantly ſupplied annually with 5 or 6000 people of both ſexes, to learn the

mechanic

mechanic arts, and perform the *drudgery of life*, and therefore it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſome part of the number of *boys*, who will be ſought for as *apprentices*, to owners and maſters of ſhips, in the *metropolis*, muſt be ſupplied from the country; and it is evident, that the *overflowings* of the *indigent* of theſe *great cities* who are in diſtreſs for employment, or being bold and hardy are moſt proper for a ſea-life, may be eaſily provided for.

Thus, whilſt the propoſal eſtabliſhes a *regular method*, equally ſatisfactory to the *parent*, the *apprentice*, and the *public*; the maſter will be aſſiſted in anſwering the deſign of navigating his ſhip on *eaſy terms*, and breeding up a *greater number of ſeamen*. And to me it appears demonſtrable, that the more we encreaſe the number of our *ſeamen*, the more inſenſibly they muſt fall into that way of life, by which they will be enabled to ſupport themſelves both by land and ſea. This object has long engaged my thoughts, and you will eaſily conceive that I ſhould think myſelf happy if I could ſuggeſt any thing for the *public good*, in a manner that ſhall at once promote the *honor* and *ſafety* of the commercial part of my fellow-ſubjects, and not create any conſiderable expence to the public.

If ſeamen become more ſedate, they will not only preſerve themſelves, but alſo their *families*. Upon their return to their reſpective homes, they will enter more into the pleaſures of domeſtic life; and again, in due time, be glad to return to ſea for the ſake of their *wives* and *children*. This is the caſe already, with many of our *North-countrymen*, who are the *ſtouteſt*, and the *ableſt mariners*, of any belonging to theſe kingdoms. There is no reaſon to fear, whilſt their gain *at ſea* is greater than *on ſhore*, or whilſt their *youth*, and the love of *variety* yet remain, that they will leave off the ſea.

In the mean while we might with good aſſurance hope to ſee our ſeamen more and more formidable for *health*, *ſtrength*, and *numbers*; and as age creeps on, they would be entitled to much greater reſpect than they are at preſent. Among the common people, the *old ſailor* or *ſoldier* ſeems to be moſt worthy of regard; for in truth we owe every thing to them, and the *fewer* of either are under a neceſſity

ceſſity of applying to an *hoſpital* for a ſupport, the more the *honor* and *virtue* of the *people*, will be *diſplayed*, and the *intereſt* of the *nation* ſupported. By the means propoſed, the *old ſeaman* will have the *better chance* of a *home*, as well as the greater reliſh of the joy of ſleeping in peace and quietneſs; and as it may be hoped his children will be *ſober*, in proportion to his own ſobriety, they will be the more ready to *prop* his hoary head, or *ſhed* a *pious tear* over his grave.—*Means* muſt be employed to *lead* the common people into a *method* of taking care of themſelves, or we ſhall ſoon *reverſe* the *order* of things; and inſtead of the rich *ſuccouring* the *real diſtreſſes* of the poor, which ought to be done in every caſe; by a falſe ſecurity that they ſhall *never* want, the *poor* will become more *indigent*, than the order of *providence* would otherwiſe permit, and the *rich* will be ſo much the poorer.

The augmentation of ſeamen, which may be naturally expected from the plan propoſed, will afford the greater relief to men in *watching at ſea*, and prevent their *wearing* themſelves out ſo faſt, as they generally do, and their *numbers* will encreaſe by this means alſo. Thus we may hope, that the nation will find, if not ſo *ample* a ſupply of *able-ſeamen*, as the exigency of the ſtate may require, on ſome *great occaſion*; yet that ſuch prudent and gentle treatment, joined to ſuch *humane*, and at the ſame time *animated meaſures*, will as naturally operate to the *encreaſe* of their *number*, as our *property*, being ſacred, operates to the *encreaſe of* our *riches*. Many of the evils we now complain of will be remedied, and whilſt we exerciſe theſe duties of *humanity*, we ſhall teach the *common people*, that due obedience to *ſuperiors*, in defence of the *public good*, is the only ſolid ground on which they can hope to be *free* or *happy!* I am, &c.

PART

PART VI.

THE GREAT ADVANTAGE OF DISCHARGING SEAMEN FROM THE KING'S SHIPS, BY DISTINGUISHING THEIR QUALITY; WITH SOME REMARKS ON NAVIGATING WITH ONE SIXTH, INSTEAD OF ONE THIRD FOREIGNERS, IN TIME OF PEACE, ALSO ON DEBENTURED GOODS.

The advantage of diſcharging ſeamen who are moſt capable of getting their bread on ſhore, in time of peace; and of retaining thoſe whoſe ſole dependance for a ſupport is on the ſea.

LETTER XXIX.

IF the many letters I have written to you on the ſubject of entertaining an additional number of *ſeamen* in the *merchants-ſervice*, ſhould prove to you no more than that an *additional number* ſhould be maintained in ſome ſhape or other; though I know this is a point you already *grant*, yet the high importance of it may now ſtrike you *more forcibly* than it did before, and conſequently ſet your mind more at work upon the *ways* and *means* of doing it. What ſtill recurs to my mind is, that if by the *force* of a *bounty*, we have, as it were, called a trade into *being*, I mean the whale fiſhery, that had no exiſtence before, with a view to an encreaſe of our ſeamen; how much more eaſily may we beſtow ſome *labor* and *expence* in pruning thoſe *branches* of our trade, which are already in our hands, on the *fruit* of which we equally depend, *under God*, for our *ſupport*. — If I ſhould follow your opinion, and venture my thoughts into the world, they will ſurely be received with candor, though the propriety of the meaſure propoſed ſhould not be ſeen exactly in the ſame light in which I have ſet it. As to *practical* knowledge, I will be bold to ſay, no one can *decide* upon it definitely, if the trial is never made.

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Whatever you may think of my lucubrations, as far as I can learn, no-body objects to the diſtinguiſhing the *circumſtances* and *qualities* of ſeamen, when ſhips are paid off; and as I have entered ſo deeply into this ſubject, I will venture to communicate to you *my notions*, on the manner of accommodating ſeamen after the war is finiſhed, ſo far as relates to the number which will be entertained and ſupported by our government. You are not to imagine that I *can* judge of this matter ſo *perfectly* as ſome men of the profeſſion, but I have *leiſure* to *think*, and *freedom* to tell you my opinion. I ſhould be *happy* to ſee an exact and critical examination made into the circumſtances of every man, that no one may ſuffer for want of *due care*. Indeed, it is with the higheſt pleaſure I hear perſons of great eminence talk, as if ſomething of this kind has been *meditated*: it is ſurely an object worthy the attention of the *warmeſt patriot*, and the *trueſt friend* to mankind.

The firſt object which occurs to me is, whether it will not be both *juſt* and *politic*, to conſider *marines*, who have qualified themſelves for the duty of *ſeamen*, as *mariners*. The number of theſe will not be great; but as it is meant to encourage them in *future times*, ſome rule may be eſtabliſhed for this purpoſe; and indeed I do not clearly comprehend, why we take ſo many landmen as ſeamen, if more *men* can be raiſed as *marines*; for this ſeems to be the *true medium* of preparing a *landman* for the *ſea*. And if *marines*, who enter as ſuch, do often qualify themſelves as ſeamen, and would do ſo in a greater degree, if they were more encouraged, I apprehend we might ſet out in our wars with a greater number of this kind of forces, *with a view* to render them *ſeamen*.

1ſt. When a ſhip of war is paid off, examination may be made by the *captain*, into the *qualification* of the ſeveral *marines* on board, and ſuch of them as are capable of being rated as *ordinary ſeamen*, might be accordingly conſidered as *ſeamen*, in the *general eſtimate* of the quality of the ſhip's crew, ſo far as relates to their entering again into the *ſervice* as *ſeamen*, if they *chuſe* it, and *can be admitted*.

2dly, A liſt to be made out by the *captain's clerk*, under the inſpection of the *captain*, and ſuch officers as he may call-in, who may take a *proper time*, in order to perform this duty with as much *accuracy* as the nature of the thing will admit.

One column of the above *liſt* to conſiſt of all thoſe who are *known* to be of *trades*, or *declare* themſelves, in ſuch manner as to gain *credit*, to be *bred up to any buſineſs*, by which it may be reaſonably expected they can *gain their bread on ſhore*. — Another *column* for thoſe who are *ſeamen only*, and ſuppoſed *incapable* of *other employment*. Alſo *columns* for the *age*, *ſtature*, *ſtate of health*, and *time of ſervice*.

3dly, After the whole crew is paid, ſuch ſeamen as appear to have the leaſt means of ſupport on ſhore, to be invited to enter again immediately, or within a time not exceeding *two months*. — Upon any of them entering, and being muſtered, clothings and beddings to be *advanced* to them, if they are in want; and if the ſhip in which they are to ſerve is not ready to receive them, to ſend them on board any other proper ſhip, there to be *victualed*, and their *wages* to *commence*, and to be *diſtributed* among the ſhips in which they are to ſerve, as ſoon as poſſible. You are to underſtand, that all ſuch kinds of diſpoſitions are in very *familiar practice* in the *navy ſervice*, though I believe not in theſe inſtances.

4thly, If more than *one fourth* part of the whole crew ſo paid off, ſhould deſire to enter immediately, then ſuch men to be *ſelected* from among them, as the captain ſhall eſteem the moſt proper men to ſerve the King.

The *marines* will probably be diſcharged as ſuch, from ſhips retained in the ſervice, but if they are *ſeamen*, they ſhould have their *chance* of remaining on board their ſhip. In ſuch ſhips alſo a liſt ſhould be made, of ſuch *common ſeamen* as are known to be of *trades*, or *declare* themſelves in a *credible* manner to be bred up to buſineſs, by which they may reaſonably expect to gain their bread on ſhore, diſtinguiſhing all ſuch as *deſire* to be *diſcharged*. This liſt alſo to contain the *ages*, *ſtature*, and *time of ſervice*, alſo in what *ſtate of health* the men are, according to the *ſurgeons* report.

You

You will pleaſe to conſider, that the ſeveral ſhips paid off, will be diſcharged at ſome *weeks* or *months* diſtance, and at *different ports*, ſo that I apprehend there will be time for men who *are* diſcharged to enter *anew*, *if they pleaſe*. And if the number who *can* gain their bread *on ſhore*, and *prefer* to do it, can be replaced by thoſe who would be otherwiſe at a loſs for *employment*, and offer themſelves as volunteers, it will be as *ſevere* and *impolitic* to detain them, as it is deſtructive of the deſign of giving bread to meer ſeamen, to *reject* thoſe who *deſire* to ſerve the King, when they *can* be received.

If *men* are really in *diſtreſs*, it is to be preſumed they will *enter* wherever they can be *received*. — The *caprice* of ſeamen, joined to their being *ſick of the ſea*, *for the preſent time*, will probably prevent moſt of them from entering *immediately*, and whilſt they have *money* in their *pockets*; but *two* or *three months*, will make a great *difference*, when they *know* where they *can* be received.

To keep a man who *deſires* to be *diſcharged*, and to *diſcharge* a man who deſires to be kept, certainly hurts doubly.—The *trouble* created by paying off one, and entering *another*, for this *generous purpoſe*, of taking care of *both*, will not be great, and the *charge* it will create to the crown, can be of no conſideration, compared with the *public utility*.

Upon this plan it will appear in a ſtronger view, if it will be neceſſary to ſupport an *extraordinary* number of *ſeamen* for a ſhort time, *entirely*, with a view to prevent their diſtreſs. Suppoſe a number of men, not exceeding 20,000, *in the ſhips*, *in ports* or *near home*, were kept *four* months extraordinary; 15000 for *four* months longer; and be the ſtanding number what it might, not to make the laſt reduction till *twelve* months after the concluſion of the war. I ſhould alſo wiſh to ſee ſeveral *three-deck'd* ſhips in commiſſion, with only *part* of their *complement*, that the men may have ample room to *breathe*; and, being *fed* with freſh proviſion, many of them would recover their health faſter, than if left to their own humor on ſhore. I hope ſomething of this kind will be tried, and I dare ſay it will be managed much better than you or I can concieve.

In the mean while, whether it is thought proper to diſcharge men *indiſcriminately*, or with the *diſtinctions* above mentioned, ſuch a number muſt be *diſcharged* as will, if we may judge from reaſon and experience, create no ſmall diſtreſs to *many of them:* but it ſeems equally reaſonable to think, that a great part of the diſtreſs may be prevented. And if the plan, or any part of it, for the augmentation of ſeamen in the merchants-ſervice, ſhould take place, we may live to ſee a number of *thoſe very ſeamen moſt profitably employed*, who would otherwiſe be *loſt to this nation.* It is thus they might be ſupported equally to the advantage of *themſelves*, and the *public*, and *our ſtanding marine force*, in future times, be ſufficient for any emergency. FAREWELL. I am, &c.

Whether it is not moſt advantageous to carry only one ſixth, inſtead of one third part foreigners in our merchant-ſhips in time of peace, and immediatly after a certain time when the war is ended.

LETTER XXX.

I AM too deeply engaged in the cauſe of *ſeamen* to omit any thing *material* which occurs to me. Things are greatly changed from what they were, when the law was made to permit our merchant-ſhips to navigate with *one third* foreigners. In proportion as *foreigners* accept our merchants pay, in time of peace, as they readily do in war, and thus find *employment*, in *preference* to *our own people*, it may add to the number of his majeſty's ſubjects: but this preſuppoſes that they acquire their naturalization, as in the King's ſervice. I preſume it would be a right meaſure to naturalize ſuch ſeamen, that they may be *encouraged* to intermarry and ſit down here. The thing we *leaſt deſire, or intend*, is to breed up *ſeamen, for other nations:* therefore it would be well to *examine* how this fact ſtands. — It cannot be ſuppoſed, but that ſome kinds of indulgences to ſtrangers, are attended with *happy effects*. As a *commercial nation*, we ought to ſhew them all *due eſteem and reſpect*, but this ſort of countenance ſeems to come *too home to us:* it may interfere with our moſt *eſſential* policy, and produce more *harm* than *good*. By our not having any tie upon ſuch ſeamen to live amongſt

us,

us, *if* we *really* entertain ſo many in time of peace, which I hope ſeldom happens, it is a *favor* which ought to be *diſcontinued*.

With regard to our ſituation at the cloſe of a war, *we are intereſted very deeply*; for if a foreigner will *remain*, or *enter* on board our merchant-ſhips, it muſt *neceſſarily* exclude a *native*, and drive him into a *foreign ſervice*. And if we loſe the *native* though we *gain* the *foreigner*, we ſhall ſuffer; but if we *do not* gain him, the prejudice is very conſiderable. I fear the *exchange* is generally to our diſadvantage, for the *Britiſh ſubject* in foreign ſervice, is hurried into *Aſia* by the *Dutch*, or into *America* by the *Spaniards*, and generally *loſt to us*. But the *foreigner* remains in *Europe*, returns *home*, and teaches our *methods* of working our ſhips to others, and it is well, if in the courſe of *twenty* years, ſuch man is not in arms *againſt* us. No people are more coveted than thoſe who have ſailed in *our ſhips*. I do not think however, that a total excluſion of foreigners from our merchant-ſhips, ſhould take place: but conſidering the whole in one view, it ſeems highly reaſonable, that inſtead of permitting *one third* part foreigners, that *one ſixth part* will be ſufficient, and of greater utility to us, for I apprehend this would prevent many a poor fellow, who is *able* and *willing* to ſerve a *Britiſh maſter*, from ſerving a *ſtranger*, or having *no maſter at all*. ADIEU. I am &c.

The ſeeming impropriety of giving bounties to foreigners on debentured goods.

LETTER XXXI.

THINGS are not always as they ſeem. Narrow views defeat their own ends; and a timorous diſpoſition often brings on the evils we dread. I know it is the opinion of many of the moſt *eminent merchants* of this *metropolis*, that it is an *error in politics* to give *bounties* on *debentured* goods to *foreigners?* I believe theſe *bounties* in the *firſt intention* were calculated more with a view to promote *trade* than to *breed ſeamen:* but if *ſuch bounties* can be made ſubſervient to *both purpoſes*, and encreaſe our *navigation*, without hurting our *trade*, it will be of the higheſt conſequence. There can be no objection to this in any other caſe, than

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where the ſame indulgence is ſhown *to us*, at foreign ports, as we ſhow *to foreigners*; or where, by giving offence, we may *loſe* more on *one* ſide, than we *gain* on the *other*. But it is hardly to be imagined, that the greater quantity of any particular commodity, to which we grant this favor, is ſold at any foreign market; or the more of it conſumed on account of its being *carried* there by any particular ſet of mariners; and if the *demand* would probably be *the ſame*, (the price to the *conſumer* not being augmented, and he not ſupplied by an yother channel,) then an alteration could do no *evil* to us, on *one ſide*, whilſt it did great *good on the other*. Nothing is of more conſequence to us, than the *breeding up ſeamen*; and it ſeems but *juſt* to the *public*, to convert as much as is *poſſible*, and *conſiſtent* with the end propoſed, ſuch *national indulgencies* to the *firſt* and *greateſt* object of *national policy*. It is thus, that *bounties* not only ceaſe to be *burthenſome*, but they become *great benefits* to a nation.

With regard to the *frauds* and *abuſes*, to which ſuch *bounties* are ſubject, it is not to be conceived, that a *foreign ſhip* can land her goods *clandeſtinely*, more eaſily than a *native*, yet as both may *play tricks*, and I fear do, *too often*, the difficulty of bringing a *foreign maſter* to puniſhment, is greater than to one of our own people, ſuppoſing a diſcovery, and that our laws extend in all ſuch inſtances, the ſame to *foreigners* as to *natives*. If we are *quite in earneſt*, as to the taking care of our *ſeamen*, *already made*, and of breeding up a *new generation of mariners*, it ſeems neceſſary to introduce ſome *new uſages*, which cannot be done without a *new law*. I mention this as a circumſtance deſerving the *enquiry* of the curious: there are many great merchants who have the ſtrongeſt *practical knowledge* of the ſubject; and I think it might be of great ſervice to the commonwealth to conſult them whether to make any *new regulation* on this ſubject, or to leave it as we find it. FAREWELL. I am, &c.

PART

PART VII.

PROPOSAL IN REGARD TO THE MANNER OF DISCHARGING BOYS FROM THE KING'S SHIPS, AND OF PROVIDING FOR THEM IN THE MERCHANTS-SERVICE.

Proposal in behalf of boys on board the King's ships, and for such destributions of them as shall tend most to their preservation, and to render them useful both by land and sea, after the conclusion of the war.

LETTER XXXII.

HUMANITY itself now calls upon us, my dear Sir, to be more particularly careful of our fellow-subjects, whose *tender age* does not qualify them to *contend* with the world. — We are not generally practised in the true art of training up youth in *high* life, and perhaps less so in *low:* yet it is from these, under the *meanest*, as well as the most *exalted* circumstances, we must ultimately expect national *riches* and *honor*, or *poverty* and *disgrace*. — To breed up the *poor* to hard labor is essentially necessary; but great ignorance is oftentimes the *immediate* cause of great *misery*. We generally find, that the *sober*, *sensible* sailor, soldier, or husbandman, is the most *active* and *laborious*; he has the *best end* in view, and uses the *best means* to acquire it. As to the *contentment* of the *poor*, I think it does not arise so much from *ignorance*, as is generally imagined; for the wisest of them know best, that the most probable way of succeeding, is to be industrious in the way of life in which providence has placed them, and their parents; and he who *knows* that he is *free* though in an *humble* state, will therefore *feel* himself *happy*.

With regard to our *young breed* of *sailors*, if no provision is made for a number of boys already in the *royal navy*, they will become a prey to *ignorance*, *vice*, and *infamy*. — The same rule of conduct, which will answer the great purposes of the nation, in breeding up boys in general, to the sea, by putting them out as

apprentices

apprentices to *maſters of ſhips*, with ſome additional attention, will make proviſion for *the boys who may be in the King's ſhips at the cloſe of the war.*

To form an idea of the matter it is neceſſary to conſider, that in 60,000 ſeamen the complement is 4500 ſervants. From theſe we may take off 1000, ſuppoſed to be ſhort in complement of ſervants; and 1000 more for the ſons of *lords* and *gentlemen* and reputable perſons, intended for *officers*, but not yet rated as *midſhipmen*, conſequently yet under the *common denomination* of *ſervants.* Upon this calculation there remains only 2500.

Suppoſe we retain 12,000 ſeamen in pay, this number requires 900 ſervants. If ſo many *men* are retained, ſo many *ſervants*, it is preſumed, will be provided by the *officers*, agreeably to the intention of the legiſlature, that young perſons ſhall be bred up as *common ſeamen.* You have been informed, I believe, that it is for this purpoſe the *officer* receives his *ſervants wages*; not as an *emolument*, as ſome idly imagine, but as a part of his own pay from the crown. In time of peace, the better half of theſe 900 ſervants will be ſuch as are intended for *officers*, conſequently the moſt we can reckon, as provided for, of the 2500 boys above mentioned, will be 450.

Upon this calculation there will ſtill remain 2050 boys, of whom not above a quarter part have any *home*, or *parent*, that they know of, or any trade. If only *half* this number ſhould be in diſtreſs, it is an object moſt ſeriouſly deſerving our attention. Theſe *poor boys* may be happily diſpoſed of; but if they are left to their *own guidance*, the moſt part of them will run away, *not knowing what they ſeek.* This I apprehend will not be conſiſtent with the *wiſdom* and *humanity* to which we pretend, nor yet with the *juſtice* of the *nation*, if it can be prevented. Therefore,—I do moſt humbly conceive, that thoſe who approach manhood, or ſuch as have learnt any conſiderable part of the duty of a ſeaman, may be conſidered as entitled to ſome *favor.* After having been at *forty ſhillings a year*, allowed by their *maſters*, which has but barely ſerved to

cover

cover their *nakedneſs*, though it is true that many of them have, in due time, been rated, and ſerved as *uſeful recruits* in a *ſucceſsful war*, yet for the ſame reaſon, that many more too young to be rated, have performed *uſeful offices* in the King's ſhips, favor ſhould be ſhown them. After ſeveral *years ſervice*, to ſet them *adriſt* without *compaſs*, *proviſion*, or *ballaſt*, would be unworthy of us as a humane people, and as little conſiſtent with *national policy* as *juſtice*. You may reſt ſatisfied after ſo many *great* and *good* perſons have intereſted themſelves as a *Marine-Society*, amongſt whom the *Lords of the Admiralty* themſelves, as *members and patrons* of this Society, ſtand foremoſt in favor of the *poor boys*, it will be thought but common juſtice, that a proper attention ſhould be ſhewn them. The only ſolid objection I ever heard to this ſociety is, " *what are you to do with theſe boys* " *after the war is ended!* " This objection may be removed by a *natural*, and I hope *eaſy proviſion*, for all ſuch as will *accept* it; and the accommodating them, will be attended with many happy effects. Nothing will give the *common people* deeper impreſſions of the *candor* and *integrity* of the government, and of our *ſincerity* in promoting the *intereſt* of the *marine:* nothing will *encourage* them *to ſend their children to ſea in future times*, more than a *due* and *proper care* of theſe poor boys. — Therefore, when this matter is *juſtly* repreſented, I take it for granted that the guardians of the *public welfare*, whoſe attention reaches, with ſo *religious* a ſolicitude, to every part of government, will do what is right and proper in favor of theſe lads. Nor is it to be conceived, that the *Marine-Society* will deſert *their own children*, ſo long as they can be inſtrumental in taking care of them.

Our Society has been lately honored with the attendance of ſome of the *chief magiſtrates of the city*, with a view to the *public-ſervice*. Their buſineſs was to enquire how it was *intended* to provide for our boys after the war is ended. We could anſwer only in the ſtyle of humble *advocates* for the poor, " *we hope proviſion will be made.*" How *I apprehend* it *can* be *beſt* made, I will tell you in my next. FAREWELL. I am, &c.

Proposal for accommodating a certain number of the Marine Society boys as apprentices in the merchants-service, after they are discharged from the King's ships.

LETTER XXXIII.

IT is more easy to prove the *utility* of a measure, than to point out how to *execute* it; but our inabilities are frequently not half so great as they are imagined to be: we are also to consider the *value* of an object, and estimate the *trouble* and *expence* accordingly. Where the *end* is *good*, and the *means* just, some skill, with great vigilance and perseverance, will surmount a *thousand* impediments, which appeared as *insuperable* difficulties.

As to the taking care of our boys, I see very little difficulty in it, except from the heedlessness of the boys themselves. — Suppose, when ships are paid off, these boys are all kept on board, and *mustered*, and a list prepared, containing these particulars, viz. Their *names*, *real* or *reputed age*; *stature*; *state of health*; *if parents alive, and where*; *whence come*; *and what employment bred to, if any*; *time of service at sea, as near as can be discovered*; *in what forwardness as a seaman*; *and what character in the ship*. Upon a view of this list, and *a due examination* of the boys, it would appear:

1st. If any were within a year, or 18 months, of being *rated* as *ordinary* seamen: those who were so near might be *rated* accordingly, by order of the commander in the port, and *entered*, to serve on board such of the King's ships as are not ordered to be paid off.

2dly, Those who have *parents*, or a *home*, where they may expect to be *received*; or have any *probable* way of getting their bread; or seem to have sense enough to be trusted with themselves, and *desire* to be discharged.—For these a provision of 15 or 20 *s.* might be made to furnish such necessaries as will be wanted,

wanted, but chiefly *clothing* (a proper quantity of which might be properly prepared and ſent by *the Society* to the principal ports,) or travelling charges, where the circumſtances require it, little being *due to the boy from his maſter.* This allowance would alſo be a means to hold them together in order to the *inſpection required.*

3dly, Thoſe who will, to all appearance, be loſt as *vagabonds* and *pilferers*, if they are ſet on ſhore to follow their own inclinations without any *aſſiſtance.*

The ſame *examination* and *liſt* may be made, in all ſhips *not paid off*, and if any boys are in a condition to be *rated*, they may not fare worſe than the others, who are *rated*, merely with a view to preſerve them. — If any boys appear to be in a condition to take care of themſelves, and deſire to be diſcharged, they ſhould not be *detained* on board, but *make room* for others who are *deſtitute.*

There will be no great difficulty in making out theſe liſts with propriety; the captain may order proper officers to take *ſufficient time* and *examine* the boys ſeparately, and not take a boy's word, but queſtion his *comrades*, doing the thing with as much *accuracy* as poſſible. The number of boys in each ſhip is not ſo large, as to render this an *arduous taſk*, though it ought to be eſteemed an *honorable one.*

The *claſſes* would ſtand thus, and the *number* they would conſiſt of, I will ſuppoſe,

1. Thoſe *rated*, will hardly exceed — — — — — — 300
2. Thoſe capable of taking care of themſelves not above — — 400
3. Thoſe who will be impatient of any control, and will probably *ſtray*, may be eſtimated at — — — — — — — — 300
4. Conſequently, the *remainder*, according to the calculation, in my laſt letter, will be about — — — — — — — — 1050

After all the officers in pay, who may be in want of ſervants, are ſupplied, I apprehend there will be about a *thouſand* or *twelve hundred* to be provided for.

Nothing is *little*, nor *foreign*, that regards *humanity*; but ſurely the *proper* care of theſe *young perſons* is a matter of very great conſequence in a *political view*; therefore an *officer* of *ſome conſideration*, belonging to the crown, ſhould be *charged* with the *inſpection* of this matter.

Proper advertiſements ſhould alſo be made, when ſhips will be paid off, that if any *boys* are wanted for merchant-ſhips, in the *out-ports*, or for other uſeful purpoſe, notice may be ſent, by thoſe who want them, to the place appointed; and the *boys* may be either conveyed *to them*, or *they acquainted*, where they may *receive* the *boys*.

But this will not do the *whole buſineſs*. We ſhall certainly *loſe* ſome of theſe lads by *untimely death*, if there is not a further proviſion made for them. — It is to be preſumed, that boys being thus diſtinguiſhed, and proper intimations given them, *in a friendly manner*, by their *officers*, that the beſt means for their preſervation will be conſulted; for the ſame reaſon that *hunger*, *nakedneſs*, and *diſeaſe*, drives many boys to take ſhelter under the *auſpices* of the *Marine Society*, to be provided for in the *King's ſervice*, they will be induced to take advantage of the *Royal benevolence*. If they wait in the King's ſhips *for a ſhort time*, to try if they can be accommodated in the *merchants-ſervice*, the *finiſhing ſtroke* may be given to their fortunes.

To return them all up to *London* in *cluſters*, as faſt as they are diſcharged, would in ſome meaſure, *fruſtrate* the deſign; but if they are ſent on board a guard-ſhip, and claſſed in *twentys* or *thirtys*, and each *claſs* put under the care of *two ſober petty officers*, and *victualed* for a time, not exceeding *three months*, meaſures may be taken for a proper *diſtribution* of them. This favor being granted by the public, I would recommend it to the *humanity* and *beneficence* of the

the *Marine Society*, to ſend down *proper* perſons to receive and conduct theſe boys to town, as faſt as maſters can be obtained for them, either to *the ſea*, or *any other offices in life*, that *can* be found.

A liſt of the boys of each claſs, with their full deſcription, agreeable to what I have mentioned already, being ſent to the ſecretary of the *Marine Society in London*, he may *advertiſe* the ſame, and *invite* maſters to take theſe boys as *apprentices*. Several members of this ſociety will have ſomething in *their* power towards *recommending* the boys; and ſurely it will be full as *eaſy* for the *King's officers* to return them to *merchants*, as it has been for *merchants* and other private perſons to ſend them to the *King's officers*; and thus *both* may diſcharge their duty.

In the mean while, if any boys find their way on ſhore, and evade the *good* intended them, it will depend partly on the *boys themſelves*, but more on the *officers* who are charged with the care of them. At the ſame time, it muſt be left in ſome meaſure, to the boys to *conſult their own hearts*, for we muſt take care not to go beyond the line that *liberty* will warrant. We know, that a *gentle* and *judicious* treatment will operate in ſuch caſes.

The ages of theſe boys, when not *clearly known*, muſt be *eſtimated* before they leave the *King's ſhips*, and a *certificate* thereof be given them by the captain; alſo of the time they have ſerved on board the navy, according to the beſt lights that can be obtained.

My intention in this ſpeculation is, that *maſters of ſhips* may ſhew theſe *boys* the more favor, and take them for *two*, *three*, or *four years* only, ſo that they may be out of their time at *nineteen* or *twenty*, agreeably to the *plan* I have propoſed, concerning the *public* utility of making *ſeamen* at an *early* time of life. Much time is ſeldom neceſſary for a proficiency in ſuch kind of learning, and it is to be hoped, theſe boys will be of immediate ſervice to their maſters. The indentures muſt be made out, as can be beſt agreed; only that we ought to compaſſionate the *heedleſneſs*, as well as the *wickedneſs*, of mankind; and accommodate our meaſures to theſe *boys*, ſo as to engage their *voluntary* ſervice.

It is more than probable, that many *maſters* of ſhips, among the *colliers*, the *American*, and the *Weſt-India traders*, the *coaſting trade*, the *whale-fiſhery*, and the *merchants-ſervice* in general, influenced by motives of *ſelf-intereſt*, as well as by ſentiments of *humanity*, will ſhow countenance to boys, many of whom will be *prepared* to their hands. It may be alſo preſumed, that ſeveral owners of ſhips, who are worthy members of the *Marine Society*, will ſhew a *partiality* to their own boys in particular.

I hope we ſhall, by ſome honeſt contrivance, keep up the *ſpirit* of the *Marine Society* by *private ſubſcriptions*, during *the war*, and engage the attention to which it is confeſſedly entitled; but beyond the war I apprehend it is not *intended* to aſk for *private ſubſcriptions:* therefore ſome *public aid* will be *eſſentially* neceſſary. —Shall we not be able to make intereſt enough for *fifty ſhillings* for each boy, *actually* provided with *clothing* and *bedding*, and *apprenticed* out to the ſea, or otherwiſe provided for, ſuch boys not exceeding the number of *twelve hundred?* And if a ſum not exceeding *twenty* ſhillings for every other *poor boy* diſcharged from the King's ſhips, under a *proper direction*, not exceeding *one thouſand*, it will certainly be of great ſervice. One would imagine, that nothing will be wanting, but a *proper application* for a ſum not exceeding 4000 *l.* to anſwer theſe humane and uſeful purpoſes.

To conſider this matter in a *political view* only, the very produce of the labor of theſe boys, will, in a year or two, repay this charge to the *ſtate*. It will be a great *ſaving* to the community in general, not only by preſerving ſo many *lives*, but alſo benefiting by the ſervice of thoſe who are *already enured to a ſea-life*; whilſt it prevents the miſchiefs which may be naturally expected, by many of theſe *boys* turning *thieves* and *robbers* of the very worſt and *moſt dangerous* kind. As to the *juſtice* due to them, I have given you *my opinion*. I think it is not *juſt* to leave them to the *precarious* iſſue of *private charity*, after they have ſerved ſome years on board the *King*'s ſhips. And can we *expect* that *maſters of ſhips*, or any other *maſters*, will take them under the *diſadvantageous circumſtances* of filth and rags? If there is great reaſon to fear that many of them will be in ſuch a ſituation, *common prudence* ſeems to ſuggeſt that proviſion ſhould be made accordingly.

It

It is not to be expected, that if the humanity of the *Marine-Society* ſhould lead them, as I hope it will, to *endevor* at the diſpoſal of a number of theſe, otherwiſe *friendleſs*, lads, that the 50*s.* will be the full ſum neceſſary. The charge of *conducting them to London*, and of *curing ſuch as may happen to be diſtempered*; together with the *coſt of clothing and bedding*, will not be brought within the compaſs of 50*s.* each, but I mention no more, becauſe this is the ſum intended to be granted by pariſhes, as by the act of *Queen Ann* ſo often quoted. The requeſt muſt be eſteemed a *modeſt one*, if this *generous Society* ſhould think proper to make it. There is a *moral* certainty of doing a very eſſential ſervice to our country, by ſuch kind of good office to theſe lads, who, from the nature of their circumſtances, will ſtand in great need of it. *And let us do to others, as we think we ought to be done by.*

When I began to correſpond with you, on the ſubject of theſe *marine affairs*, I amuſed myſelf with hopes that the war was drawing to a *ſpeedy* concluſion; I am not ſo much of that opinion at preſent; but yet no ſpeculation of this kind ought to be deemed *premature*; on the contrary, every *good intention* which is to take place, when *peace* commences, will *ſanctify* every *juſt meaſure* we purſue, to bring the *war* to a *glorious iſſue*. — Of *two* evils, perhaps *war* will appear as the *leaſt* for a time, and ſince it is the *condition* of our *enjoyments*, as well as the *chaſtiſement* for our *offences*, may every motive of *virtuous ſelf-love*, inſpire our fellow-ſubjects with *reſolution* to obtain the happineſs they have in view. Let us think at the ſame time that no bleſſing can be greater, than the *peace* and *concord* of nations, as well as *individuals*; ever remembering to make our *pious acknowledgments* for all the bounties, and to ſhow our *humble reſignation* to all the diſpenſations of providence. I am, with the greateſt eſteem,

DEAR SIR,

Your moſt ſincere,

and moſt obedient ſervant,

London, Jan. 16, 1759.

Jonas Hanway.